The house servants of the Tui Tonga were the *vaoeiki* and the *tamaioeiki.* 643
The *vaoeiki* was a woman of the matapule class, appointed by the Tui Tonga 644
to care for his household. She had her house within the Tui Tonga's enclosure.
She was the custodian of food and supplies, and general household manager, having charge of the other servants. It was her duty also to personally look after the welfare and comfort of the Tui Tonga, ministering to him when he was ill. The *tamaioeiki* were the men servants of the Tui Tonga who actually did the work in the house in which the Tui Tonga lived. The public was excluded from the house. A person coming to see the Tui Tonga sat outside and told his message to a matapule, who in turn took it to the Tui Tonga.

The salutation to the Tui Tonga was, "Malo e lakoifie ae afiona" (Being 643
well or in good health, his majesty). *"Hoo afio"* (your majesty) is employed 576
to-day of the Deity. The Tui Tonga might be addressed either in 195
the second person, *hoo,* or the third person, *ae.* "The heavens are void" was the metaphorical announcement of the Tui Tonga's death.

A kind of garland, *lala heilala,* was worn only by the Tui Tonga and 643
the Tamaha. The *heilala* or wax flower, "formerly found growing only 301
upon the lands of the Tui Tonga," were strung like beads on a strand of 824
fau bark, no other blossoms being used, and the strings of blossoms were formed into a rather broad, heavy band.

The Tui Tonga's hair and beard were trimmed by singeing. The envelope 643
(*loutoume*) of the immature coconut was burnt and a living coal 302
therefrom applied to the hair.

When the Tui Tonga drank the milk of a green coconut, at the same 643
time digging out the meat and eating it as he drank, he exclusively employed 412
for that purpose a fresh cut stick from the *toi* tree, the green twigs of which 272
have a sweet mint-like fragrance. 262

Jioeli Pangia, the man who perhaps would be Tui Tonga today if the 643
office had not been absorbed by the Tui Kanokupolu, gave the following 644
information as to the constitution of the Tui Tonga's immediate following and relatives. The classification is purely one based upon rank and the rank
in turn based upon relationship. All of the people mentioned were relatives 643
of the Tui Tonga, though some very distantly related. 644
602

1. **Fahu. Highest in rank. The elder daughter of the elder sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tamaha. Her brothers and sisters were also fahu to the Tui Tonga.** [601]
2. **Kaingaefi. The Tui Tonga's immediate family including himself. Of these the elder sister of the Tui Tonga held highest rank. (By immediate family is meant full brothers and sisters.)** [593]
3. **Matapule. Advisers and officers executing the Tui Tonga's business.**
4. **Kainangafonua. Official and household servants of both sexes. These were commoners.**
5. **Tamai o eiki. Cooks and low people.**

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which 622
specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates. 554

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou,* a Samoan 591
term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as 592
taupoou, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore 535
finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed 291
and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might 276
sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling 574
was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as 252 356
in Samoa. 526

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which 831
in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as 551
a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or 551
large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of 825
such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following 622
processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui,* the rubbing of the entire body with 554
chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with 302
a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice 565
a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body. 515

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to 261
eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of 826
her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded 622
by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats 554
and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her 285
upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness 516
or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa.* 622
After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were 513
tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was 516
834
554

335
rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the 622
work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects 342
to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, 466
may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may [465]
build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely [171]
he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so for- 342
tunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect 565
their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty 335
of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular 764
box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka.* Mariner limits 333
the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same 349
time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception. [565]

FISHING

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a 226
seaside community a *toutai,* to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of 621
the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) 464
to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a
pola held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men
directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the
pulepola, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made prepara-
tion. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of
coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women,
and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The [643]
pulepola, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which [651]
were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was
made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand
in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well [302]
oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the [291]
neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes. [293]

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* 226
grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on 621 423
the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities [438]
did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly
districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom 226
essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighbor- 621
ing *tanungapola.* Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia* 628

a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would 684
laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he 622 565
would be killed at the first opportunity.

Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wil- 685
son (66, p. 385). "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in [171]
general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders
seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent
of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare.

LIFE CRISES

BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger 844
(usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.)

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively 846
yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child 302
were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, 386 [844]
p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days.
Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a [853]
sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child
warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully.
The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale 846
refers to the use of turmeric: 773 302

> Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded 386
> the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu.

That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin 858
is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born.

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial 846
spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place 846
of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), 845
except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure fre- 856
quently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young 302
girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, 852
one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This 836
was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the 884
loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief [622]
might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but [565]
not thereafter. The term ***fakahaalavaka*** was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the 881
incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When [565]
the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified
and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter
has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe 881
during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. 841
She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and [515]
then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the [302]
period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, [574]
but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. [431]
When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old [515]
female attendant. She and the old woman chew ***tuitui*** (candlenut), ***langa-*** [824]
kali flowers, ***nukonuka*** flowers, and ***pako*** grass root, or other sweet-smelling
plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing [302]
and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not [776]
married before first menstruation. [582]

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the 643
following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was for- 881
bidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood [515]

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her 643
body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and 881
presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women [515]
brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. 643
The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* 881
(literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of 431
childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family; the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by 841
means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope,* a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was 881
cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One 302
informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the 304
operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but 881
is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All [643]
males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity [797]
seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew [178]
method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite so- 304
ciety) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which consists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin. The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around) and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and
is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now [657]
performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who 881
declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other [626] [6
members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe.*

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *lango mamalu.* I recall such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *haihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present [264]
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers [789]
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast [593]
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation,
as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present [431]
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one [761]
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. [784]
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to [752]
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fa-* 581
tongia (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states: [837]

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death. [689]
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. [171]

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitalu*. It is perhaps to such a [837]
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

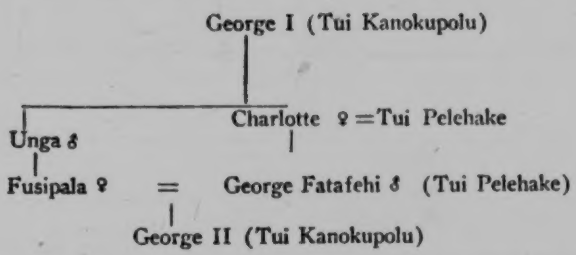
The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 622
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head. 302

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 593
presented to the bride by her brother. 431

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin mar- 582
riage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among [622]
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her [565]
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

(p. 281). An example of marriage of a man to his mother's brother's 582
daughter follows. It is said that the other form of cross-cousin marriage,
i. e., to the father's sister's daughter, occurred, but was rare.

[601]


George I (Tui Kanokupolu)
Charlotte ♀ = Tui Pelehake
Unga ♂
Fusipala ♀ = George Fatafehi ♂ (Tui Pelehake)
George II (Tui Kanokupolu)

Cross-cousin marriage is metaphorically called *takaifala* (rolling up mats),
for it is said of the woman that she goes to roll up the mats of her father's
sister's son. In cross-cousin marriage it was the sister's child who held the [593]
higher rank in the marriage on account of being *fahu* to his spouse. Cross- [605]
cousin marriage is to-day called *mali* (English marry) *fatongia* (duty); that
is, a marriage of duty, referring to the duty of the brother's children to look
after the sister's children.

A *fokonofo* is a supplementary wife or concubine brought by a bride to 595
her husband. Should a bride select her *fokonofo* from within the family,
which was the custom, they were either younger sisters, persons from the inferior
or mother's side of the family, or the daughters of the father's younger
brothers; apparently the daughters of the father's sisters who were superior
relatives could not be taken by a bride as *fokonofo*.

The *sinifu*, or concubines, of a great chief usually occupied a single large 595
house, where they might be visited by the chief, or whence they might be 622
taken to the chief's house. At the chief's house lived his favorite or the 565
wife of highest rank (*maitaki*). The term *sinifu* refers to the relation of 595
the woman to the man, while the term *fokonofo* refers to the relation of the
inferior co-wife to the superior co-wife.

Open conversational flirtations were the prevailing form of social intercourse 521
between a man and a single woman, but never openly between a man 834
and another man's wife. There was no indiscretion, however, in a man's [837]
making a social call upon a woman at her house while her husband was absent. [574]
The house door was always open while any of its occupants were at home,
except on occasions when some peculiar tapu might rule otherwise.

When a man met a beautiful unmarried girl on the road, it was customary
for him to carry on a flirtatious badinage of words with her in addition to
the ordinary greeting. He could tell whether she were unmarried if she [302]

were a stranger to him, only by the way she wore her hair. If she were not 521
a married woman, but one who was no longer a virgin, there would be no 834
means of distinguishing her from a married woman by her appearance; only 302
a personal knowledge of the facts would give the man a right to speak to her
as an unmarried girl.

A girl, when going out into unfrequented places, providing she should be 834
a virgin, took a child along as a chaperon. This child, of either sex, might 857
be a brother or sister or a neighbor's child. The protection was based upon [858]
the fear of scandal, as the child could not be expected to keep a secret.

Among the chiefly people a virgin was called *taahine*, or more specifically, 836
taupoou. Among common people a virgin was called *finemui*. A chiefly girl, 565
when she ceased to be a virgin, was still called *taahine* but not *taupoou*. The daughter of a high matapule might also be called a *taupoou* and also bore the name *taahine*. The term *taupoou* was not applied to only the oldest virgin in a family, but to any and all virgins in the family. A commoner girl no longer a virgin was called *finemotua*.

If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his 836
marriage, he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls. But if a 58
young man was reputed to have a wide sexual experience previous to mar- 554
riage, regardless of his physical attractions or lack of them, he was held in high estimation by old and young and was especially admired by young unmarried women. Girls were warned to keep away from him, intimately, but taught to admire him. Such a man was said to be wise and was expected to treat his bride with more consideration during the first nights of married life.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

The marriage ceremony is to-day called *katoanga mali* (*katoanga*, festival; 585
mali, English "marry").

The ceremony was divided into two parts: the first taking place before and immediately after cohabitation; the second, when the first born child was sufficiently strong to be moved, if necessary, from one village to another (generally when it was about two months old).

This second part of the ceremony was always held at the home of the man's father, who designated the time. The child remained at the house of his mother's people during the entire performance, taking no part in it whatsoever. In this respect the affair seems to be complimentary to the parents rather than strictly in honor of the child itself.

The following is a description of the first ceremony, the marriage proper:

> Preceding the festival, a large representation of relatives of both the bridegroom and the bride assembled at the village or community where the bridegroom's father resided. The young man took up his temporary residence with his father, if not already

there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set 585
up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be required.

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) [515]
and tapa towels (*helo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards to relatives.

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion,
each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, [602]
both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's
own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family [593]
whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as *fae* called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tua*.

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from [515]
head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality [302]
depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were [291]
wrapped about the waist. [554]

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveeva* (mother to walk for pleasure). When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae* stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and
a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, [302]
and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue! tue!" (to shout, to triumph over).

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking 585
slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were 431
equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint [302]
him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together by his people.

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother 585
assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular
the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats [513]
covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept
with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a
late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the [515]
occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had [302]
retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went
to sleep. They were designated as *haatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in
charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the
bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's
father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into
his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should 585
experience suffering and pain. Only a *tuo* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this 833
respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. [565]
When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white 585
tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance.
When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law
to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed
covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further
celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had
committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night.
In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged
grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and
brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's
father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed [515]
her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound [302]
fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called
kofokofo.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered
about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good [836]
mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage. [543]

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by 585
his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present 565
Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are [584]
agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters]
of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed,
the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps
as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The
party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances,
accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui
Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the
house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on 585
Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, 565
and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no
lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu."
And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e,
Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the [551]
names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe,
mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone
keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they
come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava 585
is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If 565
Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and 276
continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and 574
Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One 431
basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food
that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations
of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered,
until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but
if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom
is obliged to entertain the guests.]

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manava*, 585
the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and 565
which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes [276]
place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink
kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept
beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bride- 585
groom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called 565
the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called 292
ngafingafi, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put
on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is
the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*,
where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound
round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They
then return to the dressing-room (*fale manava*), and change their dresses, putting on
garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, consisting
perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again
(presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they
return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the
bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed 585
with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister 565
utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava [302]
is served, accompanied with large quantities of food. [276]

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on [264]
other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the
couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn 585
of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket 565
of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned 535
out to the dancers.

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its 585
meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food 565
brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked 264
food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task 765
called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201). 533

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. [565]
Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so
mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as 765
a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was 622
removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to 302
whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have [622]
cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga
or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The [593]
heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign
of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in 765
rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common 554
to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits [784]
in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is [602]
not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A 764
great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. [554]
This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of [462]
the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served
to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga,
Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to
carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought 763
to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for 343
this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and
retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief 764
should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. 343
The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection [565]
with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official
and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or
the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of
dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as- 768

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufili- 701
tonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against 643
Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition 173
goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while
in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant 701
war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. War- [302]
riors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called [714]
malumalu, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang
down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes.
When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be 701
a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged 725
the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away
from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of
mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong 701
or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce [534]
the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of [202]
the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that 505
the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides 701
the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there
are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands.
The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and 721
then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large 505
numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa 648
in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on
Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually com- 712
prised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such
fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken
of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons.
A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowa-
days a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village.
McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore [552]
names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies par- 725
ticularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, 726
taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is re- 643
vealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [287]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and sub- 535
sequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau,* an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu,* a Samoan dance; *meke,* a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua,* a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka,* a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting 576
it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods
of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among
chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this man- [565]
ner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so [593]
kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed [595]
his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto. [643]

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who [482]
is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds,
"Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Ton- [195]
gan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-
280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called [554]
hu, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the [516]
neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of dis- 264
tinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribu- [576]
tion of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast
are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. 516
The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.) 171

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left 854
arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to
the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. 291
This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often [171]
nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear. 301

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of 201
another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out. 481

Men shave the hair from the legs. 302

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The 514
Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans. [171]

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause 302
(*pao*), also wear the hair quite short. [886]

Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to 302
stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect. 237

GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept 814
by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly [193]
woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young [565]
chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies [887]
by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the re- [212]
positories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date.

From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much [171]
interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seen not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root,
origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi [643]
on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile* [602]
fihi)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers.

PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of 551
a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker [124]
and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As
a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The 552
Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names.

[231]
Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer.
The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named [773]
Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the 552
property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila 643
is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently 231

[Niuatoputapu Island]

Chiefs and braves (*toa*) of Niuatoputapu formerly singed their hair 565
short with a burning coconut stem (the part from which the nut is sus- 302
pended), while other men wore their hair long like women.

According to the Maatu I interviewed the land was divided out to the 622
various chiefs by Maatu, who created the chiefs and their titles. After some 634
had held their land for a time they would "get cheeky," so that Maatu would 423
have to fight them again. The chiefs made presents of food and other prod- 622
ucts to Maatu continually. The commoners were "like dogs" and were 634 565
called *tua*. The matapules of Niuatoputapu, like those elsewhere in the Ton- 622
gan kingdom, did the chief's bidding with regard to the distribution of food, 624
kava, etc. A matapule who made a mistake in serving kava would be clubbed. [276]
If, however, the matapule chanced to be the grandson of Maatu (that is the [684]
issue of a marriage of one of Maatu's relatives with a person of matapule
rank) he would not be punished. In 1920 there was living at Niuatoputapu
an officiating matapule, who was eighty-nine years old.

Maatu and his family constituted the *houeiki*. Below them were the 634
chiefs and other people who were allotted pieces of land by Maatu. These 622
were called *kaumaatua*. One of them acted as regent in the absence of 565
Maatu. When one of Maatu's matapules begot a son of a woman of a place [554]
ruled by a *kaumaatua* (petty chief), that son acted as the matapule to that
petty chief, who would be either his maternal grandfather or his maternal
uncle. When an older Maatu (presumably Ngongo) fought the petty chiefs 634
and conquered them he retracted their titles and lands. These were restored 622
by Maatu No. 9. The retraction of titles and lands occurred with every 423 554
title bearer except Motuapala, who officiated at Maatu's oven, presumably as
a sort of matapule. The matapule title of Sika was taken from a conquered 634
matapule and has now been bestowed upon a person of Maatu's family. 565
Sika is the principal matapule of Maatu to-day. He is also matapule to the 554
Tui Kanokupolu when the Tui Kanokupolu visits Niuatoputapu.

There is no doubt but what the power of Maatu in the Niuatoputapu 634
group has been diminished within the last half century, for a certain portion 178
of the island is now claimed by the Tongan government. In other words it
was regarded as crown land. This land was obtained by the Tui Kanoku- [643]
polu George I, evidently as a part of his policy of everywhere strengthening
his hold and of increasing the cohesion of his kingdom. Under just which
Maatu George I secured his holdings in Niuatoputapu I do not know. Since
the death of the Maatu whom I met in 1920 and 1921, an eleventh incum-
bent has perhaps been appointed, although as to this I have not heard.
Presumably the Queen of Tonga has filled the vacancy if a suitable heir [643]
has been forthcoming.

mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of disembowel- 622 768
ing. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death 589
(See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his [177]
daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems 643
doubtful if the *moheofo,* or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. 768
Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. 589 [644]
The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the
male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early 727
Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken
place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cre- [264]
mation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-
man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault 782 764
with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. 643
When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought [165]
by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his
body. The matapule acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only [767]
living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive.
His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his matapule to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao.* Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao.*

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the [302]
fakafeao's head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao,* or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of matapule or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anecdote: 784
A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the 784
aid of this clergyman and brought to [illegible] a pig. Still they were not blessed 842
with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a 784
reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree 793
under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, [261]
> and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau.

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow 784
on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will 565
become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is [753]
a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu.

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably 784
lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab.

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher [565]
in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result. [753]

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. 784
It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives. 604

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after [553]
> the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused
> by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt [755]
> could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the 784
> penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray. 827
> 302

he accordingly had given orders, that if they 727
found it necessary to kill the white men, they 634
should, at any rate, preserve Mr. Mariner's life.
The king put his nose to his forehead (a mark [576]
of friendly salutation;) and soon after observing
that he was very dirty, and much wounded, he
desired one of his women attendants to take him
to a pond within the fencing of the house, where
he might wash himself. Here he made himself 727
as clean as mere water could make him; but 515
finding the dirt did not come readily off his feet,
she brought some sand, and began to scrub them
with it: when he complained that this hurt him,
she said something, which, at that time, he did
not clearly understand, implying, that such was
the Tonga mode of washing. Being now pretty 727
well washed, he again came in presence of the 634
king, and was sent to the other end of the house, 515
where he was oiled all over with sandal-wood 302
oil, which felt very agreeable, alleviating the
smart of his wounds, and greatly refreshing him.
He now received a mat to lie down on, where,
overcome by fatigue, both of mind and body, he
soon fell fast asleep. During the night he was
awakened by one of the women, who brought
him some baked pork and some yam; but being
somehow prejudiced against the pork, lest it
should be human flesh, he did not taste it, but
ate heartily of the yam, not having tasted anything since breakfast the preceding day.

721 On getting up the next morning, he was much surprised at perceiving every body with [766] their heads shaved: a practice which is always adopted at the burial of Tooitonga, a great per- [302] sonage hereafter to be described, whose funeral was performed that day.

In the course of the morning Finow took him on board the ship, where he was much gratified in meeting several of the crew, who had been ordered on board to bring the ship close in shore. The king's orders being understood, they cut the cables, and worked her in shore, through a very narrow passage, so full of rocks and shoals, that, untried, it would have been considered unnavigable. Through the medium of Tooi Toci the king had been previously informed, that unless his men (which were about 400 in number) were to sit down, and remain perfectly quiet, it would be impossible to work the ship, the Englishmen being only about fourteen in number. The moment Finow had given orders to his men, he was most implicitly obeyed; they sat down, and not a word was spoken, nor the least perceptible noise made by them during the whole time, no more than if none of them were on board. The ship was brought within half a cable's length of the shore, through the narrow passage just mentioned, and run aground according to Finow's orders.

175 to his house with their followers, whom they
669 placed around it as watchful guards, ready to
643 dispatch all who might attempt to escape from
726 the place: of these Finow took the command,
634 whilst Toobó Nuha entered, armed with his axe,
[644] and burning with desire of revenge. As he
passed along, on either hand lay the wives and
[302] favourite mistresses of the king, the matchless
[301] beauties of Tonga, perfumed with the aroma of
sandal wood, and their necks strung with wreaths of the freshest flowers: the sanguinary chief could have wept over their fate, but the freedom of his country was at stake, and the opportunity was not to be lost*. He sought the mat of his destined victim, where he lay buried in the profoundest sleep: he stood over him for a short moment, but willing that he should know from whom he received his death, he struck him with his hand upon the face: Toogoo Ahoo started up,—"'Tis I, Toobó Nuha, that strike," and a tremendous blow felled him, never to rise again. Horror and confusion immediately took place: Toobó

---

[*] Such were the sentiments which he afterwards expressed
[727] to Mr. Mariner. The sacrifice of these women, however barbarous, was strictly according to the general Tonga custom in such cases; where not only the individual enemy is destroyed, but also all who belong to him, even his women, that his party may be weakened and distressed as much as possible.

262 tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take
796 away while it was good for any thing.

766 Finow had three daughters, the eldest of
784 whom, now about eighteen years of age, had
765 been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having
expressed his wish that the marriage should
643 take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary
581 preparations, about five days after the abovementioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

643 The young lady having been profusely anointed
585 with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood,
was dressed in the choicest mats of the Navigator's
[302] islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as
[292] silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

643 should return from Hamoa. He had, indeed,
581 brought two wives with him, natives of that
[177] place, but, finding that his friends at home had
not been unmindful of him in this particular,
he resolved to marry these young maidens also:
and partly to please his own humour, and
partly to afford a little amusement to the Hapai
people, he resolved, also, that the ceremony
should be performed, for the most part,
after the manner of the Navigator's islands.

634 On the morning of the day of marriage, A
585 which was about a week after the arrival of the
[565] prince, most of the lower class of the people
were employed in bringing from different parts
of the island, yams, ripe plantains, and bananas;
cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, fish, and cakes*.
These were piled up on the *malài* in four large
heaps, with a baked pig on the top of each.
[292] The people assembled on the spot, dressed up
[301] in new garments, ornamented with wreaths of
flowers, and with red ribbands made of the fine
[302] membrane of the leaf of the *lo acbw*, much resembling
silk: their persons were anointed
with sweet-scented oil. The spectators seated
themselves in two sections of a circle, one beginning
from the right, the other from the left

---

[262] * These cakes are made of flour prepared from the *Mahod
[254] root* (see the vocabulary), mixed up with scraped cocoa-nut
into a paste, and baked. They are considered a luxury.

A [of Finow's son--Analyst]

hand of Finow and his matabooles; at their terminations 634
stood the Hapai people on the one 585
side, and the new-comers (most of them Hapai
people also), on the other, so as to be opposite
to each other, both parties being furnished with
clubs made of the green branches of the cocoanut
tree. The prince, who was also armed
with a club, stood up among his Hamoa companions.

The two brides were now conducted by their
female attendants from the house of Finow
(near the *malái*). They were dressed in the [292]
finest Hamoa mats *, but not in such profusion
as described in Tooitonga's marriage, and were
veiled in the finest *gnatoo*. They were led into
the house on the *malái*, and seated on bales
also of the finest *gnatoo*. Here their feet, [302]
hands, faces, and breasts, were anointed with
a mixture of sandal-wood oil, and the purest
turmeric, producing a deep orange tint on their
skins. They remained seated in this place, to 634
be spectators of the combat that was about to 585
ensue between the inhabitants of Hapai and 526
their friends from Hamoa. 648

The two parties being ready, the challenges gion; this, however, is not absolutely the case; 000 for although they strip all strangers, without distinction, that come within their power, yet in return they fit them out with other canoes, (entirely at the expense of the chiefs who shared the plunder;) and supply them with so much of the produce of the island as may be necessary to support them in their way home; together with presents of their *gnatoo*, mats, tortoise-shell, &c.: and withal behave very kindly: but not one single article that has been taken from them, however small the value, is again returned, even with the most earnest entreaty. Cow Mooala's canoe was laden with sandal wood*, esteemed a very rich commodity at Tonga, but not one splinter of it was ever returned to him; although the natives of Fotoona could make no use of it, not having adopted the practice of oiling themselves. His canoe was dragged on shore, broken to pieces, and offered up to the gods; afterward the planks were shared out among the chiefs, who devoted them to the

---

* These mats are made entirely by hand, and when very fine and large, occupy two years making; this renders them exceedingly valuable. They are so exquisitely manufactured, that one would suppose them to be woven by a loom,

---

* Sandal wood is of the growth of one of the Fiji islands, called Pau, and of only one spot upon this island, called Voofa. It has, indeed, been planted upon other of the Fiji islands, but without coming to any state of perfection. It has [131] also been transplanted to the Tonga islands, but with as little [302] success: for the wood thus produced possesses little or no scent, and consequently is unfit for their purpose, viz. to perfume the oil with which they anoint themselves.

634 of which the *fytoca* consists, may be strewed in
764 like manner, it being considered a great embellishment to a grave to have it thus covered, and is thought to appear very well from a distance, where the clean sand may be seen on the outside of the *fytoca;* besides which, it is the custom, and nobody can explain the reason why,—which is the case with several of their customs. This being done, the temporary house is taken to pieces, and thrown behind the *fytoca* in the hole, out of which the earth was originally dug to raise the mount on which the *fytoca* stands*: in this hole also are thrown all the baskets in which the sand was brought, as well as the remaining quantity of earth not used in filling up the grave. The ground within the *fytoca* is now covered with mats, similar to what are commonly used in the houses, and which are made of the leaves of
634 the cocoa-nut tree. During the whole of this
765 time the company was seated on the green before the *fytoca*, still clothed in mats, and their
287 necks strung with the leaves of the *ifi* tree: after
301 302 this they arose and went to their respective ha-
304 bitations, where they shaved their heads, and
824 burnt their cheeks with a small lighted roll of

---

* Or rather the house upon the *fytoca*, for the latter is a term given merely to the mount and the grave within it; they have several *fytocas* which have no houses on them.

tápa[*], by applying it once upon each cheek 634
bone; after which, the place was rubbed with 765
the astringent berry of the *matchi*, which oc- 287
casions it to bleed, and with the blood they 301
smeared about the wound, in a circular form, 302
to nearly two inches in diameter, giving them- 304
selves a very unseemly appearance[†]. They re- 824
peat this friction with the berry every day,
making the wound bleed afresh: and the men,
in the mean time, neglect to shave, and to oil
themselves during the day; they do, however,
at night, for the comfort which this operation
affords. After having, in the first place, burnt
their cheeks and shaved their heads, they built
for themselves small temporary huts, for their
own accommodation during the time of mourn-
ing, which lasts twenty days. The women, who 784
have become *tabooed* by touching the dead body,
remain constantly in the *fytoca*, except when
they want food, for which they retire to one or
other of these temporary houses, to be fed as
mentioned in the note, p. 141, but they sleep in

---

[*] *Tápa* differs from *gnatoo* merely by its not being stamped or imprinted with any pattern.

[†] Those whose love for the deceased is very great, or who wish it to be thought so, instead of burning their cheeks in the way mentioned, rub off the cuticle by beating and rubbing their cheeks with platt wound round their hands, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut; and this is a most painful operation.

small canoes to the outer islands of Hafooloo 486
How*, to watch the arrival of Toobo Toa, and 628
to return with immediate notice of this event 634
to Vavaoo, which they did as soon as they saw 765
three canoes which hove in sight. The notice [103]
being given to Finow, he sent back several of
his own canoes to meet those of Toobó Toa,
with orders that the Hapai canoes should not
be allowed to advance farther than the neighbouring
islands, but that they should bring
Toobó Toa and his party along with them up
the creek to Felletoa, in the Vavaoo canoes.
This was accordingly done, and Toobo Toa,
and about sixty of his warriors, were landed
near the fortress. They were all dressed in 634
mats; their heads were shaven, and the leaves 765
of the *ifi* tree were round their necks, according [292]
to the custom at burials. They were followed [301]
by several boys bearing a few spears, arrows, [302]
and clubs. They proceeded immediately
to the grave of the late How, and after having [304]
sat before it a little time, with their heads
bowed down, Toobo Toa arose, and taking a
sharp club from one of the boys, inflicted several
very severe wounds on his own head, calling
out to the deceased to witness this proof of his
love and fidelity, and declaring aloud that his

---

* The name given to Vavaoo and all its surrounding little islands.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

and had opportunities of receiving confirmations 000
of what he had heard from Cow Mooala
(see Chap. X.). The natives appeared to be a 144
race considerably inferior to the Tonga people,
partaking rather of the negro cast of countenance
and form, at least in a small degree. As 171
far as Mr. Mariner had opportunities of observing,
their domestic comforts appeared much inferior
to those of the people he had just left.
They do not oil themselves, and to this he attributes 171
the coarseness and harshness of skin, 302
which is so different from that of the Tonga
people. Their hair was somewhat more curly, 144
and rather disposed to be woolly. Their 171
whole external character, taking it generally, [181]
seemed fierce and warlike, rather than brave
and noble. Their only dress was the *mahi* (see [291]
Vol. I. Chap. X.), and this nakedness of appearance
serves at once to sink them in a degree of
civilization below the natives of Tonga, and the
Society islands. It is to be lamented that Mr. 114
Mariner had not opportunities of seeing more
of the natives of these islands than he did, with
a view of drawing a juster comparison between
them and the people whose manners he was so
well acquainted with; but the apprehension
that some accident might again detain him just
on the eve of his return to civilized society, pre-

766 connection between these different meanings.
192 When Tooitonga is ill, the intercessions with
the gods for his recovery are the same, though
766 perhaps in a greater degree, as are made on
763 the illness of other high chiefs: prayers are offered
up; priests become inspired; some children
have their little fingers sacrificed; others
766 are strangled, &c. When he is dead, his body
764 is washed with oil and water, as usual; his widows
come to mourn over him, &c.; and, according
[768] to the former custom, his chief widow
should be strangled, but whether on the day of
his death or of his burial Mr. Mariner does not
know. His *fytoca*, or burial-place, is of the
[302] same form as that of other chiefs. The day
after his death, (which is the day of his burial)
every individual at every island, man, woman,
and child, has his head closely shaved: this is
a peculiarity, and so is the custom of depositing
some of his most valuable property along
with the body in the grave, such as beads,
whales' teeth, fine Hamoa mats, &c.; so that
his family burying-place, at the island of
Tonga, where all his ancestors have been buried,
must have become very rich; for no native
would dare to commit the sacrilege of
theft. The ceremony of interment is exactly
766 the same as that of the king. The mourning
765 is also the same, viz.—old ragged mats, with

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

leaves of the *ifi* tree round the neck: but for 766
Tooitonga the time of mourning is extended to 765
four months; the mats being generally left off at the end of nearly three, whilst the leaves are still retained for another month. The *tâboo* [184]
for touching his body, or any thing that he had on when he died, extends to at least ten months, and for his nearest relations fifteen months. (See Vol. I. p. 141.) Every man [302]
neglects to shave his beard for at least one month; and during that time merely oils his body at night, but not his head. The female mourners remain within the *fytoca* about two months, night and day, only retiring occasionally to the neighbouring temporary houses, to eat, &c. It will be seen, that what we have 766
already related of these ceremonies differs in many respects, some in kind, and all in degree, from those attending the burial of the king: but those we are about to describe are altogether peculiar to Tooitonga's funeral.

In the afternoon of the day of burial, the 766
body being already in the *fytoca*, almost every 765
man, woman, and child, provided with a *tômë**, [416]
and a piece of *bolâta*†, sit down at about eighty

---

* A certain part of the cocoa-nut tree, of which torches are made.

† Part of the stem of the banana or plantain tree, used to receive the ashes falling from lighted torches.

weeks, without any sort of dressing or washing; 752
the patient was confined to his house about two 757
months, and was not perfectly recovered till
near a twelvemonth, when he seemed as healthy
and as strong as ever, with scarcely any cough
having supervened in the meanwhile. This was
considered a very dangerous wound, and a very
well conducted cure. Mr. Mariner does not 826
know that they are acquainted either with the
exact situation or existence of the intercostal
arteries.

It often happens that the arrow, not being a 752
barbed one, is withdrawn without any difficulty;
but still the surgeon thinks proper to perform
the operation of *cawso*, not by enlarging the
wound made by the arrow, but by making another
at some little distance from it, in a part
which, either from judgment or education, he
deems more safe and proper. In all those persons
whom Mr. Mariner knew to have undergone
the *cawso* it had been performed in nearly
the same situation as the one above stated. 752

We have observed in the before-mentioned 757
case that the wound was not washed, and it 515
may here be noticed, that in all cases of considerable 753
wounds produced by pointed instruments 302
the patient is not allowed to wash himself
till he is tolerably well recovered, nor to shave,
cut his hair, nor his nails: for all these things

752
757 they say are liable to produce *gita* (tetanus),
515 unless the wound be of such a nature, and in
753 such a situation, that it may with safety be first
laid completely open, then there is no danger.
[302] Mr. Mariner never witnessed a case of tetanus
[164] produced by these means; but he met with
many who said they had seen it in persons who
had got nearly well of their wounds, but happening to wash themselves too soon, spasm supervened, and death was the consequence. They
752 notice that wounds in the extremities, parti-
753 cularly in the feet and hands, are liable to produce tetanus: also, in persons already wounded,
sudden alarms, or even any sudden noise that
calls the attention abruptly, is liable to produce
this complaint. They never allow females to
be near men thus wounded, lest the mere stimulus of venereal desire should induce this
752 dangerous complaint. As to cutting the hair
757 and nails, they positively assert that the mere
302 sensation of these simple and common opera-
753 tions has not unfrequently been productive of
these dreadful consequences. The man whose
[515] case we have just mentioned was eight months
without being washed, shaved, or having his
hair or nails cut.

752 *Gita* is a disease very common among the
177 Tonga people; but still more common among
164 the natives of the Fiji islands, who, from their

Formerly the whole of the clubs used to be engraved, 322
but now this ornamental work is confined 531
to the handle: it is executed with a great
deal of neatness. A shark's tooth used to be [412]
the instrument, but now they make a sort of [237]
graver out of a nail flattened, sharpened, and
fixed in a handle. Instances of their neatness
in this sort of workmanship may be seen in our
museums, and in the engraved representations
of other works.

Fy cava, shaving the beard. They have 305
two modes of performing this operation, viz. [413]
with the two valves of a certain kind of shell, [237]
which they call *bi'bi*, and with pumice-stone:
the latter is used by the party himself who
requires the operation; the former by those
whose profession it is to shave others. The
edge of one valve being pressed horizontally
against the chin or lip by the left hand, that
portion of the beard which appears upon it is
rubbed or filed off by the rough back of the
other valve. This operation is generally performed
once in about eight or ten days. The 854
heads of infants are always kept closely shaved; 302
but this is done with a shark's tooth by the 237
mother.

Fe oomoo, the art of cooking. If refinement 252
in cookery be one proof of the civilization 262
of a people, the natives of the South Seas have

The first appearance of day is the
512 time of rising: they then get up, wrap their
515 *gnatoos* round them, and go out to bathe either
[302] in the sea or in a pond; or, if neither is at
hand, they have water poured over them out of
cocoa-nut shells: they are very particular in cleaning their mouths, and frequently rub their teeth either with cocoa-nut husk or charcoal: they dry themselves with a piece of *gnatoo*, wrap their dress loosely round them, return to their houses, and oil themselves all over, generally with cocoa-nut oil scented with the aroma of flowers; great chiefs frequently use the same oil scented with sandal wood. When bathing, they either wear an apron of *gnatoo*, or of the
291 leaves of the *chi* tree. When they have bathed
512 and oiled themselves, they put on their dress
with all possible neatness: that of the men consists but of one piece of *gnatoo*, measuring about eight feet by five or six; this is folded round the body in a very neat manner: there are two or three modes, but the one which is considered the most elegant, and therefore the most usual among chiefs, is represented in the frontispiece: that part which circles round the waist is readily loosened, and brought over the head and shoulders, in case it should be necessary to go out at night. There is a band which goes round the body just above the hips, made also of *gnatoo*, but which is, for the most part,

539 to him, and they ran away together. Lolo, however, was not without his disappointments. His humiliating desertion by a lady who preferred Lepuha before him has passed into proverb (17, no. 462).

Auka and Talafaiva

It is said that the Tui Tonga Telea, who probably lived in the seventeenth century, once went on a trip to the northern parts of Tonga, accompanied by his very beautiful wife, Talafaiva. When they reached Vavau they determined to live for a time on the island of Euakafa. House and grounds, therefore, were prepared for them, and when all was completed the king and his wife walked round and inspected their new home. They were perfectly satisfied with the arrangements made, except that Talafaiva requested that a foui tree which had been left standing just outside the palisade be cut down. She thought that this might furnish means for clandestine entry into the compound. The king, however, thought her fears groundless, and the tree was left standing.

So they lived in Euakafa, and the king travelled about Vavau, attending to his kingly duties. During one of his absences a handsome man of Vavau, whom tradition is inclined to identify with Lepuha, climbed the foui tree, and entered the compound.[1] So great was his attractiveness that the beautiful
[302] Talafaiva yielded to his advances. Before he left her he tattooed, or painted, a design on her belly as a mark of his conquest [2], and so, when the king returned, her infidelity was apparent. Then Telea, in his anger, called to his attendant Auka to smite the woman. Auka happened at the time to be cutting firewood, and he sprang forward with a billet of wood, and struck her dead. Then was Telea grieved, for he dearly loved his wife, and thought that Auka would have known his heart sufficiently well not to have interpreted his bidding so harshly. However, the fatal deed was done beyond recall, so the great stone slabs were cut for the burial vault and Talafaiva was interred.[3]

TALES RELATING TO CLAIRVOYANCE

Hama the Clairvoyant

539
787 Three stories are related illustrating the powers of Hama. The first indicates keen observation and shrewd reasoning rather than clairvoyance. He is said to have been able to tell of things in distant localities, without his body going to them or his eye seeing them.

One of his exploits relates to the discovery of the island of Ata (Pylstaart). Hama, living in Eua, noticed a tropic bird flying away for food before daylight. He called together the crew of a canoe, telling them to

on that. The rhythmic hollow drumming of the bamboos, and the move- 535
ments of the slowly-advancing winding line, were peculiarly effective. La- 533
billardière (27) mentions a kind of orchestra of thirteen musicians with bamboos which they struck on the ground.

Sipa is a dance in which the movements are like those of the *lakalaka*, but the accompanying music is like a chanty (*tauaalo*). (See p. 121.)

A dance which enjoys a great vogue is the Fijian *meke*, or club dance. This is accompanied by the drum alone. A small party, including the drummer, or drummers, sits down at a distance from the dancers, who are all men, each carrying a club over his shoulder. The drumming commences, slowly and softly at first, but quickening in time and increasing in volume. There are shouts from the club-bearers and presently a single figure comes skirmishing forward. His steps keep time to the beats of the drum, as he comes on, bending this way and that, performing various evolutions with his club. He seems to be a sort of scout, or, more probably, a representative of the inciting and challenging to single combat which preceded battle. (I have seen the suggestion made, but I forget by whom, that the reason of the challenging gestures and insults which brought on one or more single combats before the battle became general, in primitive warfare may have had a religious motive, so that the enemy might be guilty of the *hybris* of striking the first blow.) The single warrior advances toward the party where the drummer is seated, but presently retreats again to the main party, which advances, sometimes with both hands on the handles of clubs, which are resting on shoulders, keeping time to the drum with hands and elbows, sometimes performing more intricate movements with club and body and limbs. As the warriors draw closer and closer the beats of the drum and the movements of the dancers quicken, though the rate of their advance is not appreciably accelerated. Heads and faces, bodies, arms and legs, are all expressive of the spirit of the war dance. The tension and excitement of performers and spectators rise higher and higher. It seems as though the dancers will break and rush upon the party with whom the drummer sits, and upon the spectators. Suddenly there is a shout and a dramatic stop. The inciting drumming ceases, and the dancers move quietly away. The *meke* is ended.

The realism of this dance is increased by smears of black on the per- [302]
formers' faces, plumes stuck in the hair, and rattles of dried beans about [301]
ankles and wrists—adjuncts used in all dances. [534]

Another very popular dance is the *mauluulu*, said to be introduced from [177]
Samoa. This is a women's sitting dance, though sometimes a line of men standing behind keep time with various movements. The music may
be provided by drum, voices, or both. The performers themselves usually 535
sing. The women sit cross-legged, and keep time with slight movements

539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sisi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *kau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] [585] [837] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuanaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

[825] Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

[776] Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 825 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *mataeleele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] [551] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloa, faahikehe,* and *tevolo.*

[192] [782] [192] [197] 2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua.* The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumuwhenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[177] [845] [732] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[778] [824] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] [115] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

14. It is tapu for a boat to pass to windward of another boat on which there is a greater chief. So Falepapalangi says to his rival that he desires to vaunt himself the greater man of the two. 539 565

15. The ending seems abrupt, and possibly there are lines missing. 784

Page 72. Falepapalangi 505

1. A woman freshly adorned from her toilet. Mother and new-born are also smeared with turmeric. 302

2. The opening of the turban allows the fragrance of the oil with which the head is anointed to escape. 846

3. "Chatter without going a voyage" is equivalent to "Talking about what you have never been to see, so little of a sailor that you would be sick in a pond." 302

4. This is sarcasm directed at the rival. "We hear the sounds of pleasure and think that the Vavau bard is amusing his fellow countrymen; but no, it turns out to be only the murmuring of the wind in the toa trees."

5. The situation of Fekitetele has evidently been long unknown. There is a fragment of a poem which refers to it as a name only whose position is unknown.

Fekite-tele te mau tala	Fekite-tele we shall tell
Koe'uhi pe hono hingoa	Only because of its name
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga.	But it has no position.

6. The homeless Vavauan is the rival, who is living in Tongatabu but has no real standing or home there. It is only by an act of grace that the chiefs of Tongatabu allow him to live with them.

Pages 72-73. A poem of Falepapalangi to Mamaeaepoto

1. Those who sail to Tongatabu, namely, the people of Haapai and Vavau.

2. Gift, the *inasi*, which was a ceremonious, religious offering of the first-fruits to the Tui Tonga, a harvest festival, was also used of the portions into which presentations of food, mats, and the like, are divided. Probably the reference is not to the religious festival, but to the portion of a chief in any ceremony. 651 796

3. Houmahaaloau and Anamanu, both in Vavau.

4. A gesture of giving up; renouncing; having no more to do with.

5. Falalatokelau is unidentified but probably is in Vavau, and apparently the meaning of the reference is that Mamaeaepoto has given up singing the praises of Vavau.

6. Toa and *feifai* are trees used in the toilet.

7. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu. Later on in the poem words are used which would make it seem as though the Tui Tonga was the king referred to. At the death of the last Tui Tonga in 1865 these words were formally transferred to the then Tui Kanokupolu, and have continued in his house, that of the reigning family. Even if this piece was composed before that transference, it is possible that courtesy might have allowed of the Tui Kanokupolu's being addressed in the highest terms. Probably it is best not to press the matter too closely but merely to say the king. 539 643 644 539

8. Mat (*ngafingafi*) is the ordinary cincture of respect in the presence of chiefs. The *fatai*, a creeping plant, seems to have been regarded as especially appropriate to men who had just come from the sea. Evidently the meaning here is that the king told Falepapalangi to dress himself in readiness to perform before him. 291 576 824

9. Falepapalangi represents himself as sitting on the deck of the windward canoe and hearing, perhaps from the deck of the larger canoe, the songs and conversation, and finds that he himself, or his poem, is being criticized, presumably in a composition of Mamaeaepoto.

10. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto would better compose a poem about Kafoa and leave him alone.

11. The gull (*tala*) is the poet himself, ranging for subjects, and lighting on some beautiful headland.

12. The simile, a beach where boats put in from all quarters, denotes that he is a meeting-place of many excellences, or a poet to whom many people resort, or a poet to whom many subjects furnish inspiration.

13. The meaning of this last part of the poem "I don't care what you do with my poetry; take it anywhere, to Akana (in Samoa, Aana), Tamatuitala (unidentified

Pages 119-120. If there be a stranger 533

1. This line is the refrain, sung after every line. 539

2. Haapuopuai, a pool on shore near Mua.

3. Talilaki, a difficult opening in the reef passed through in going by sea from [103]
Nukualofa to Mua.

4. Nukufeheaki; unidentified in this locality, is probably an islet. [103]

5. The *mohokoi*, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers; is apparently that known [103]
to Europeans as ylang-ylang (*Cananga odorata*).

6. Apparently a woman is represented as the speaker, addressing a lover who [824]
has come over the sea, and must return to the land whence he came. Oil is given by
women.

7. Vaiola and Hunibush are nicknames apparently of chiefs and lovers of the [551]
speaker's own land. She would have given the stranger oil and garlands, but these
other two have prevented her, at least from giving as much as she had intended.

8. Halaleva is a road near Nukualofa, famed for the plentifulness of its fragrant [103]
plants and flowers. The women of this favored spot scent themselves by placing leaves [302]
in the *kona*, the fold of the *vala* at the waist.

9. The names mentioned in this passage are all of localities. [103]

10. The *faonelua* is a species of *Pandanus*, very rare and highly valued. One
of these trees stands in Mua, and is commonly reported to be the only one in Tonga. [824]

11. Lapaha, a part of Mua. [103]

12. The reference is to *funganiua*, the *sisi*, leaf girdle and skirt, with a double
row (*fungani*) of plaiting entwined with flowers, at the top. [291]

13. At Mua festivals and garlands are so common that the fragrant *sisi* is the [291]
girdle even of commoners.

14. The green in Mua, Feingakotone, is where the festivals and sporting contests [368]
(*kotone*) of the Tui Tonga were held. It is not so much a name as a descriptive
title of this place, *feinga* meaning doing-place, place where a thing is done. The [192]
word is much like the English Sports Ground.

15. Folaosioeiki, a place name. [103]

16. This line is not clear. Provisionally I have taken Takuimalae as the name
of a *malae*, but taku, or *takui*, may be a tree standing on a green (*malae*).

17. Takuilau, Ahofakasiu, and Fepaki are place names; Tangitangi is probably [103]
a place name also, though the word means opening of the buds, and it is possible
that the line should read, "Takuilau with opening flowers."

Page 121-125. Chanties

1. "Carried astern," going astern, may mean that the chanty was sung while [502]
the canoe was going astern, or the reference may allude to something in the form
of the chanty itself. The composer says that he should be rewarded with sweet-smelling garlands (*pipitongi* and *lolohea*), or that the chanty itself is pleasant like
these fragrant things. For a different interpretation see Gifford (21, p. 17).

2. Keitahi and Falefilimoto are localities on the weather shore of Vavau. [103]

3. The sites of Tuniloa and Tele are not identified. Both names are listed by
Gifford; but not as of natural features suitable to this contest. The lookout place [103]
(*matanga*) is a commanding position whence a good view of sea or land can be obtained.
The same word is used of a thing seen, a notable object; and also of the spectators [192]
at a festival.

4. Fangmofuike (Beach of earthquake) is a beach in Vavau, evidently where [103]
the women resort to bathe and dress their hair with lime. This is unlikely a reference
to any particular woman, but a general description of what happens at this beach.

5. These verses appear to be rather an ungallant address to a lady, intimating
that she must look elsewhere for a lover.

6. Valefanau is a locality near Kolovai, the principal village of Hihifo. Iloituunga [103]
is probably the name of a place in the same neighborhood.

7. This is an old chanty, still used in dragging sleds on which large presentations of food are placed (*toho umu*). The *pekipaki* is a sea creature popularly called [483]
blue-bottle. The singer likens himself to sea creatures able to outlast the rigors and [825]
hardships of the sea. The term *fiuanga* here means one who contends with and overcomes sea, cold, and wind.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it,
776 that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes
use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.
825

571 382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:

539 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the
782 *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p.
244 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *To'uji aki vahau ufi,* which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 383. Fie namu pako: Wishing to smell of *pako*.

302 The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the
157 oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desir-
554 ing to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the
565 less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 384. Fuji mo omo: Pulling and slipping.

735 Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indi-
291 cate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *vala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 385. Laukau falelava: Finery of various sorts.

291 *Laukau,* personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory
301 nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 386. Mafana a penu kehe: Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

421 One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but
513 can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness
826 of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is "*Jiijii a pakiji,*" which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.
304
782

Nima ku, that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima,* hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a ulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the [183] charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect.

539 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good
827 sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.
515
302
386

A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.
302
[137]

The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn. In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last.

440. **Pele tonoi:** An adulterous favorite; one who returns the kindness of another by debauching his wife. 539 837 571

441. **He oku fola fala kae alea e kainga:** For the mats are spread and kin are talking. 539 593 602

The mats are the sleeping mats, and the picture is that of intimate domestic converse between those who may freely declare their minds without fearing the anger of their auditors, who, being their own kin, will stand even unfavorable criticism. Far different is this intercourse from the circumspection which must be observed in addressing the great of the land without the family circle. [576]

442. **Talatala i fale:** Speaking in the house, that is, in the privacy of the home, and among close kin, as for example the admonition of a father to his son. 539 521 593 602

443. **Tala loto fale:** Telling inside house. 539 521

This saying does not seem to be known, at least not very generally known, nowadays. Baker renders it: "To speak evil; to speak. to incite to evil." Evidently the idea is of taking the opportunity of private intercourse to utter things which one would not like to say before many auditors.

444. **Apijia tae lava:** Ceremony that does not come off. 539 584

Applied, for example, to a man who writes to a girl, or otherwise tries to win her for his wife, but is unsuccessful in his suit. The word *apijia*, which is probably connected with *api*, home, indicates that which one does for himself, for his own home.

445. **Apitanga a lalahi:** Camp of grown up people. 539 571

Used of a place where grown people only are living together without any of the trouble and care incident to the presence of children. A boat's crew is sometimes thus spoken of.

446. **Fangu malingi i fale lahi:** Calabash poured out in big house. 539 415 302 575 571

The calabash is the receptacle in which the sweet scented oil for anointing the body was kept, and the name has come to be applied to the oil itself. Whether in this phrase we translate *fangu* by calabash or by oil the meaning is the same. The *fale lahi*, big house, is the house in which the young men used to live together. The phrase indicates the holding of something in common. If one man took out his bottle of oil to anoint himself another and then another might use it after him until perhaps the oil was finished. No offence, however, would be taken at this, as the owner would not assert his private rights against his fellow-lodgers in the big house.

447. **Kaumea kaumea faingamea:** Friends, friends quarreling. 539 572

The reduplication of the word *kaumea* (friends) indicates a long continued comradeship; but it is at last broken by strife.

further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea 539
was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man 584
worth while from Majilamea.

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, 539
and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), 578
Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan 261
billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?"

454. Fakakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first 584
feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own.

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well 593
matched.

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: 539
"To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very 837
old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love.

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and 539
cut evilly. 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head 302
was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was 585
highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed
836 maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who
302 after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands
585 of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making
565 a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 459. **Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.
Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked
262 with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and
585 meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but
as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has
no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 460. **See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.
584 Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable
571 person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in"
888 where he is not wanted.

539 461. **Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish
584 about.
829 This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A
man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with
his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a
man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole
world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 462. **Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and
584 Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa
is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is
damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome (*manaia*) Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

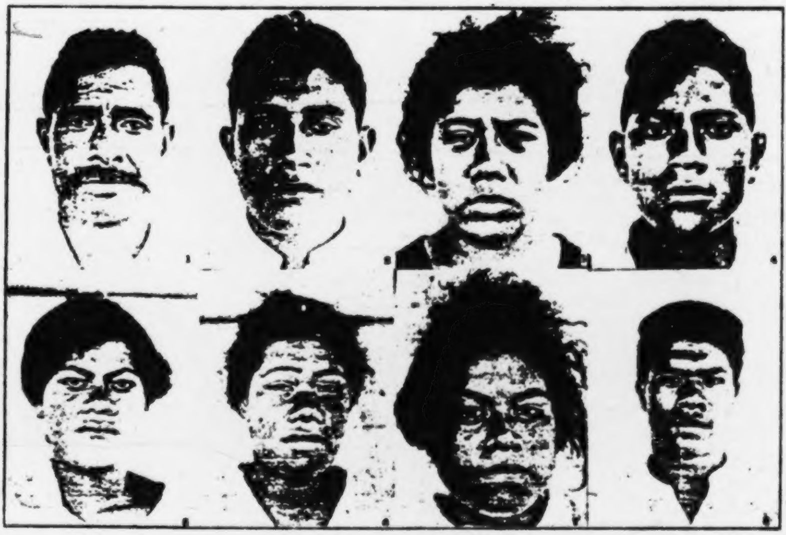
[576] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression
means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencum-
[287] bered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and
so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

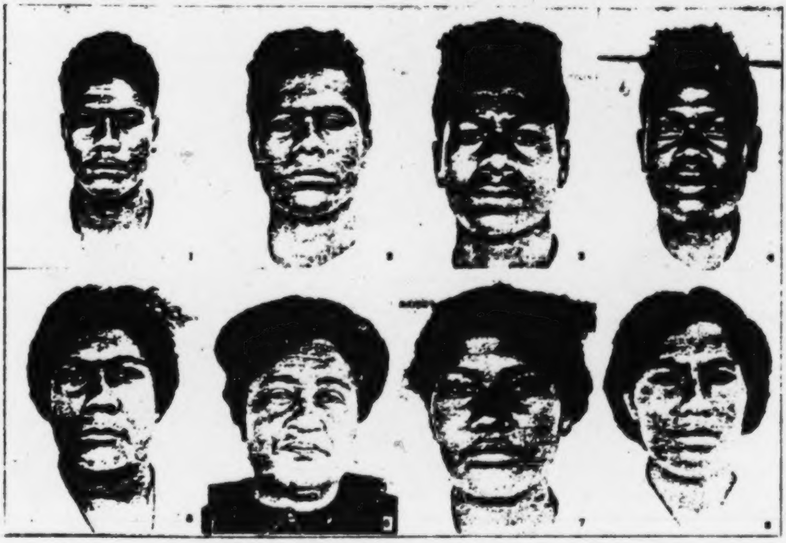
Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the
explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the
[826] best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as
a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression
[831] is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

141
142
302



A. TONGAN TYPES SHOWING THE RANGE OF VARIATION IN EYE FORM, THE CHARACTERISTIC HALF-OPEN EYES SOMEWHAT OBLIQUELY PLACED, AND THE SLIGHTLY THICKENED AND BEVELLED LOWER LID WITH JUST A SUGGESTION OF AN EPICANTHIC FOLD.



B. TONGAN TYPES SHOWING THE FORM OF THE LIPS, NOS. 1 TO 4 IN MEN AND NOS. 5 TO 8 IN WOMEN. NOS. 2, 3, 6, AND 7 ARE THE MOST COMMON TYPES. AS A GROUP THE TONGANS HAVE LIPS OF SOMEWHAT MORE THAN MEDIUM THICKNESS, DIFFERING QUITE MARKEDLY FROM THOSE OF CAUCASIAN PEOPLE.

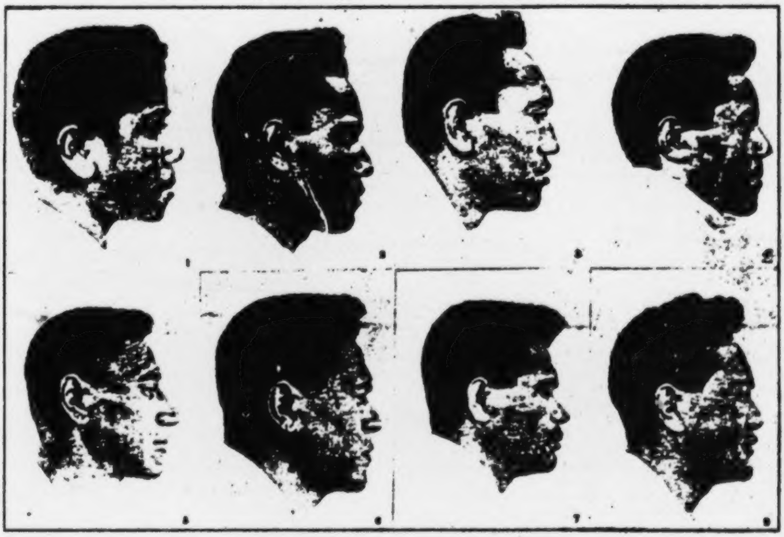
Photographs by Gifford and McKern

[End Plate 1]

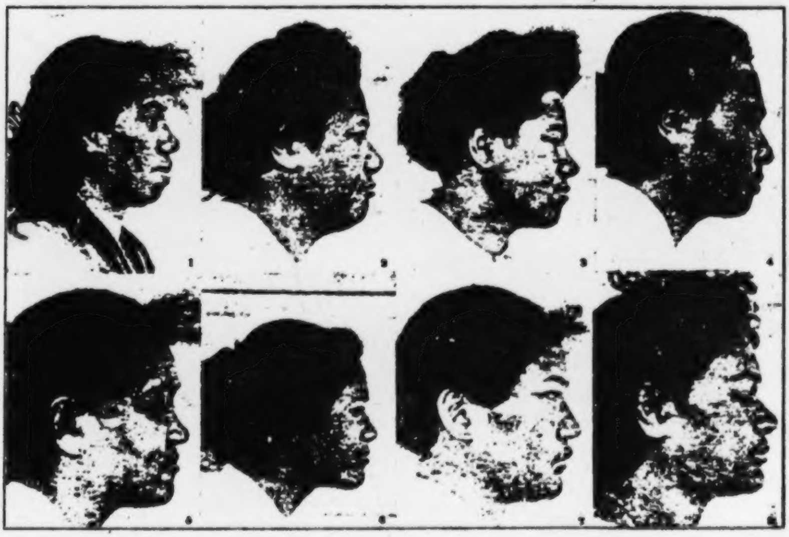
11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

[End Plate 2]

141
142
302



A. PROFILES OF TONGAN MEN ARRANGED IN ORDER OF CHIN DEVELOPMENT. THE TONGAN CHIN THOUGH POSITIVE IS BY NO MEANS SO PRONOUNCED AS THAT OF CAUCASIAN PEOPLES. NOS. 3, 4, 5, AND 6 PORTRAY THE MOST COMMON TYPES.

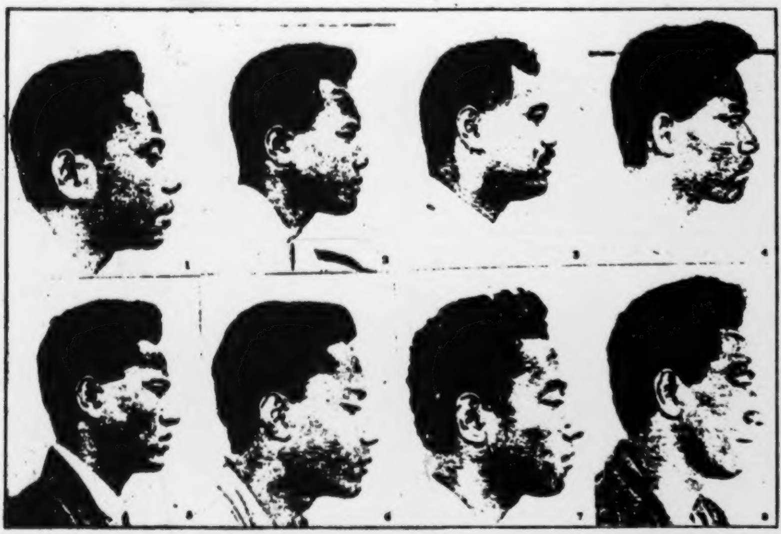


B. PROFILES OF TONGAN WOMEN ARRANGED IN ORDER OF CHIN DEVELOPMENT. THE CHIN OF TONGAN WOMEN IS NOTICEABLY LESS DEVELOPED THAN THAT OF THE MEN. NOS. 3, 4, 5, AND 6 PORTRAY THE MOST COMMON TYPES.

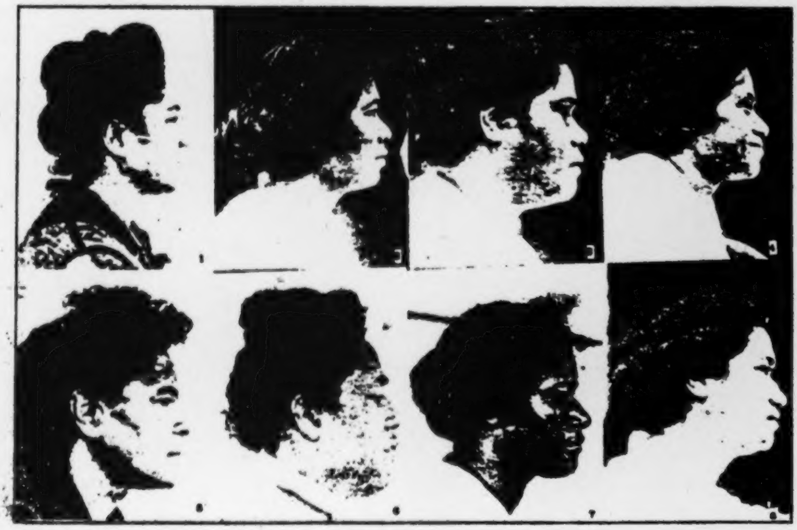
Photographs by Gifford and McKern

11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

141
142
302



A. PROFILES OF TONGAN MEN SHOWING THE ELEVATION OF THE NASAL BRIDGE AND THE PROFILE OF THE NOSE. NOS. 7 AND 8 SHOW A HIGHLY ELEVATED NASAL BRIDGE. THE NASAL BRIDGE OF THE TONGANS AS A GROUP IS NOT ELEVATED SO MUCH AS THAT OF CAUCASIANS.



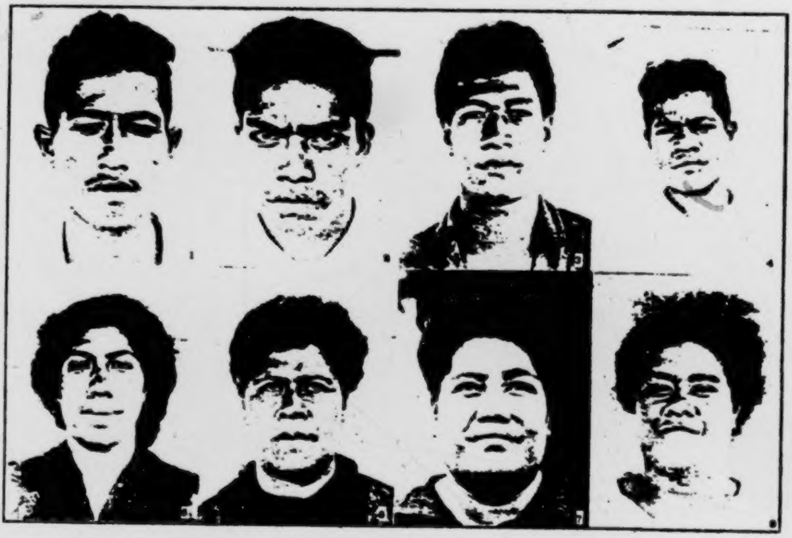
B. PROFILES OF TONGAN WOMEN SHOWING THE RANGE IN ELEVATION OF THE NASAL BRIDGE AND THE CONTOUR OF THE NASAL PROFILE. THE NASAL BRIDGE IS SEEN TO BE MODERATELY ELEVATED. NO. 8 IS AN ABERRANT AND UNCOMMON TYPE.

Photographs by Gifford and McKern

[End Plate 3]

11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

141
142
● 302



TONGAN TYPES SHOWING THE RANGE IN NOSE FORM. NOS. 1 TO 4 IN MEN AND NOS. 5 TO 8 IN WOMEN. NOS. 2, 3, 6, AND 7 ARE THE MOST COMMON FORMS. NONE OF THE NOSES HERE PORTRAYED APPROACHES IN SIZE THE CAUCASIAN TYPES.

Photographs by Gifford and McKern

[End Plate 4]

175 her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the
644 side of her husband. She then took leave of them.
585 I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung
down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and
175 gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four
351 attendants remained with her[1] till the canoe was
644 rowing off. They had been with her from her
birth till this moment; when they resigned their
charge to four others, who were to be the same
guardians of her fidelity as the former had been of
175 her virginity. It is the custom through life, thus
565 carefully to keep the daughters of the principal
836 chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one
or two of these attendants, night and day. The
[302] young women indeed pride themselves much upon
their virginity, which they call taihenee: and as
the token and ornament of that state, their hair is
suffered to remain uncut till their marriage.
175 Whether this distinction which is here properly considered
585 the virgin's "glory," is then laid aside, because
her honor then becomes inseparable from that
of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that
they have only one word to express both husband
and wife, viz. "Oanna," as though the union was
so intimate that even language could not refer to the
one without including the other.

175 As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he
837 provides a similar guard to preserve her so. For, unchastity
is considered of so little account at Tonga,

---

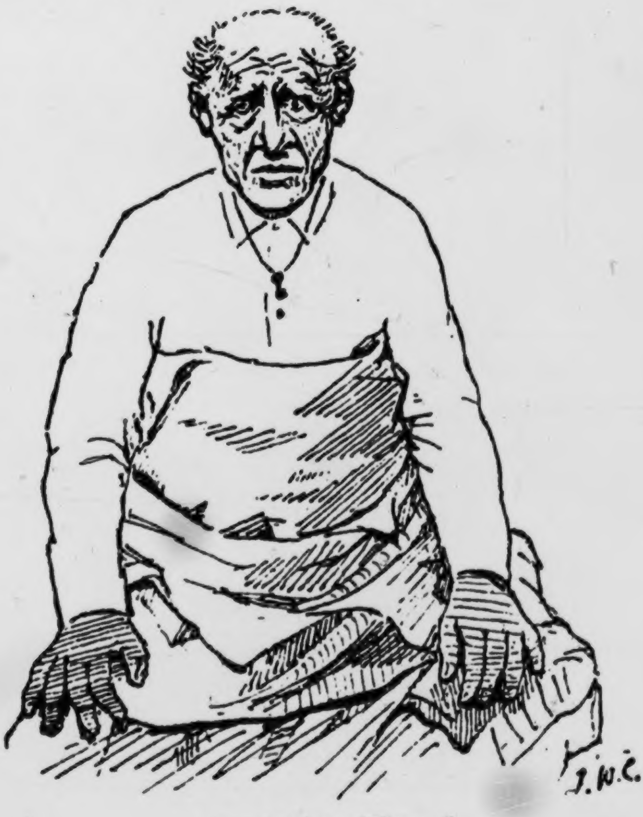
[1] [i.e. the bride of the Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

be allowed to pass or repass to excite any alarm. 175
Having placed every thing in a state of preparation,
a chosen band proceeded in search of the spot 669
where Dugonagaboola slept. They founed all his 726
attendants asleep, but were afraid to slay any one,
lest they should mistake the person of the chief and
give the alarm. At length he was betrayed by the 175
perfumeded oil on his head. This oil is scented 303
with wood brought from the Feejee islands, not far [439]
distant from Tonga. The wood is rubbed or scraped
into a kind of saw-dust, with a rough fish-skin;
with this the oil is mixed, and strained, and then it
possesses a strong perfume. This is used only by the [302]
principal chief. Discovering him by this distinc- [565]
tion, they murdered him, and seven or eight of his 175
attendants. This gave the alarm, and the rest fled; 669
but as every road was beset, many of them were 726
killed also. The conspirators then proceeded down
to the water, and seizing as many canoes as they
needed, broke all the rest, to secure themselves from
being pursued during the night.

By the next morning, the alarm was spread through great part of the Island, and multitudes flocked to Mulkaamair with the particular friends of Dugonagaboola, to inquire into the cause of the outrage, and to rouse him to revenge the death of the chief, on Loogolala. The people of Aheefo, which was the particular district of Dugonagaboola, warmly took up the cause of their chief; and hasti-

nephew. He certainly looked the part of Treasurer of 645
an insolvent kingdom. His brow was deeply seamed 652
with the furrows of care, and he spoke little, as befits one

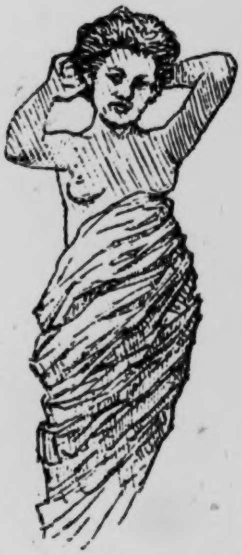
[142]
[291]
[302]



"I am Minister of Finance."

upon whose wealth of resource the financial fate of a country hangs. But when the High Commissioner questioned him, the following conversation took place:—

dressed with all her signal flags, cast off amid deafening 798
cheers from the shore party, and as she swung out into the 167
stream she fired a salute. As the echoes of the last shot [533]
died away, the voices of the exiles were heard singing
"Home, Sweet Home," in their
own language, taking well-sustained [142]
parts; and they continued singing [291]
until we passed through the white [302]
line of reef-breakers, and the figures on shore had melted away in a cloud of white draperies. We had cast off our nationality, and were now Tongans.



One of the Exiles.

Our fellow-passengers spent their first day at sea in holding religious services, and in fussing about their luggage. These exiles for conscience' sake had already reaped the reward of their constancy—an earthly reward in the form of mats, native cloth, kava-bowls, and all things that are most precious to the native heart. They numbered more than 120, and had left their homes almost naked. They went back with eighty tons of luggage—far more than they could possibly have accumulated in three years had they remained in their own country. Persecution had not been unprofitable.

A grey fuzzy line just above the horizon, gradually re-
solving itself into cocoanut-palms—such was our first
sight of Tongatabu. We steamed along the south-east [133]
coast, the Liku, watching the surf spout up in a hundred

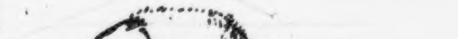
charged with that offence before the police court; but 644
Kubu, the new Minister of Police, who was then Police 645
798
687

[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

George Tukuaho.

Magistrate, was not a creature of Mr Baker, and dismissed the case. This would not do at all, and Mr Baker

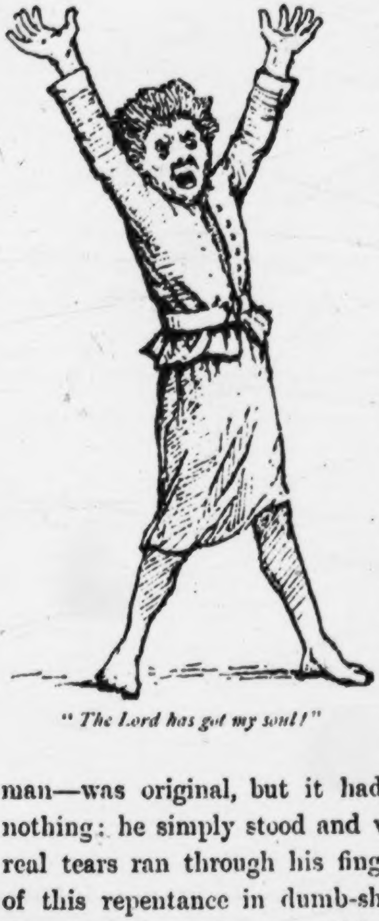
645 laying it endways to the door so that its entire length
643 could be seen from within, retired. Then Fatafehi and I
came forward. As soon as the king saw us he rose from
his seat to fetch a chair for me from several that were set
[291] round the table in readiness for the Council. He was
dressed in European clothes of rusty black cloth, and
342 appeared to have been waiting for us for some time. The
644 house was divided
[142] into three by reed
[302] partitions, and very
meanly furnished:
a green iron bedstead in the inner
room covered with
mats was the only
bedroom furniture,
and besides the
table and office
chairs in the middle
room, there was
only a shelf of the
commonest crockery.
643 The outer
[357] room was occupied
697 by his servants, who, I believe, were prisoners. It was
[512] characteristic of the king that while he had a well-found house in Nukualofa, he lived from choice on the
barest necessaries, and spent a large portion of his
income on building churches.



King George Tubou.

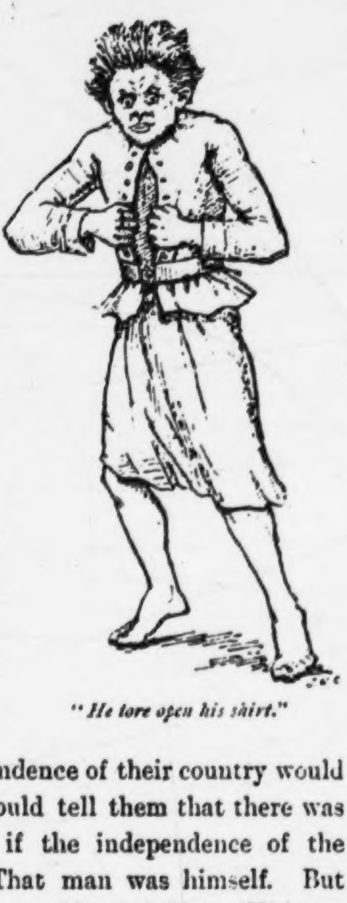
643 After we had shaken hands, Fatafehi announced in a
645 stentorian voice that I had brought a little sandal-wood

781 calm he told us what a sinner he had been, and at each
783 disgraceful confession the audience shouted their applause.
Then with bated breath he told of his awakening; with
suppressed emotion he described his inward tumult:
302 291 516 words failed him; he caught his breath, he flung up his arms passionately, and after a silent struggle his voice rent the air in a hideous yell, "The Lord has got my soul!" He raved; he tore open his shirt as if he would pluck the heart out of him; and then, still raving, he flung himself on the ground in a frenzy of simulated sobs, and another took up the tale. It was a disgusting exhibition, but it was the success of the evening.


"The Lord has got my soul!"

The performance of the next penitent—a grey-haired and respectable man—was original, but it had been eclipsed. He said nothing: he simply stood and was shaken by sobs, while real tears ran through his fingers. After some minutes of this repentance in dumb-show he made a gesture of despair, and sat down amid loud acclamations.

There were some tame imitations of the three principal 781
performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the 783
excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. 645
He told them that he had come to the church that
evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had
landed on their shore with
joy, thinking that he had [291]
come among old friends, but [302]
his joy had been turned [516]
into sorrow. They were his
friends no longer — why?
He knew not, unless it was 645
because a distasteful office
had been forced upon him.
Did they think that he had
sought office? No! he was [643]
Premier by Tubou's command,
not by his own choice.
Out of his love for his king
he had undertaken work for
which he was unfitted, and
with God's help he would
carry it through. Many [181]
foolish things had been said
(was not Tonga the land of
lying reports?). It had even 645
been asserted that the independence of their country would 186
be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was
one man who would fight if the independence of the
country was endangered. That man was himself. But
was there a man present who would not fight? (Hitherto

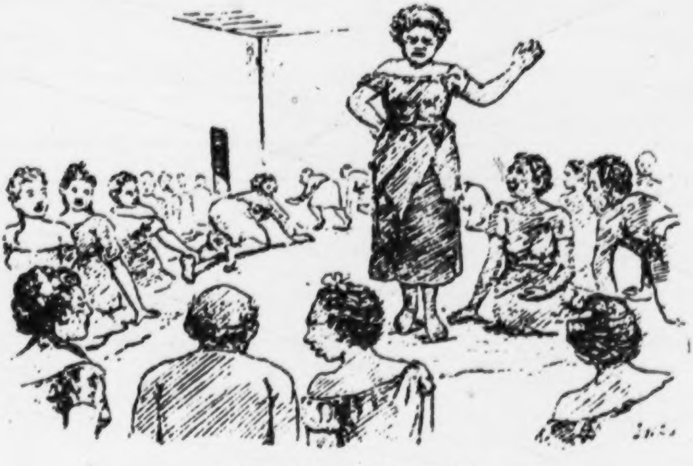


"He tore open his shirt."

motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose of tonic. 203 208

Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of omission rather than of commission. But not always. Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when 796 781 783

[291] [516] [302]



"When Mary 'told her soul.'"

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Sawana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to "tell her soul." A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

selves. The two Cabinet Ministers, Kubu, the Minister 645
of Police, and Josateki Tonga Veikune, the Paymaster,

142
291
302
516

Asibeli Kubu, Minister of Police.

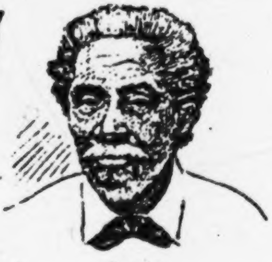
now appointed Auditor-General in his absence, had returned from their mission to Vavau and the Niuas to

645 announce the change of Ministry. We therefore summoned our first Cabinet Council.

[349] [643] [646] It was held in the Parliament House, a large wooden building furnished with pews and a long table. At one end was a faded crimson daïs surmounted with the royal arms: here the king sits when he opens Parliament. We took our seats round the table, Tukuaho, as President, sitting at one end, and Mataka, with his shorthand notebook, at the other. Let me describe my colleagues.

[142] Asibeli Kubu, the Minister of Police, is a short, dark little man of about thirty, with a stiff moustache, and
[157] erect rebellious black hair. He is full of restless energy, impulsive and boyish, full of loyalty to Tukuaho, and of
645 devotion to his administration. His mother is Lavinia,
565 who would be Tui Tonga *fefine* if such dignities existed
554 nowadays; and his father is Inoke Fotu, a Judge of Vavau, a chief of the second rank. By his mother, therefore,
645 Kubu is a great chief. He began his official career as a Police Magistrate under the Baker *régime*, and got himself into sad disgrace by not convicting to order. Being a creature of impulse, and not endowed with calculating tact, our Minister of Police is safer under discipline than when left to his own judgment. To-day he is dressed in a suit of flannel pyjamas with *quasi*-military braid facings, his head is covered with an embroidered smoking-cap with a tassel, and his feet are bare.

[142] [302]



[291] Sateki.

Josateki, or Sateki as he is universally known, is a dif-

ferent stamp of man. A chief of the third rank in Vavau, 645
he was selected by Mr Baker as his Paymaster and Assistant [157]
Premier because of his implicit obedience to orders
and his power of silence. In person he is erect and slim, [142]
with grizzled hair and beard, and fine features deeply [302]
wrinkled. He lives only for his work: he is an official [157]
first and a man afterwards, a very rare quality for a native, to whom, as a rule, sustained purpose is unknown. We are not yet sure of Sateki. He is said to be hurt at my appointment as Assistant Premier, a post which, till now, he has nominally filled. If we once win him over we need not fear that he will desert us, but as he will not talk, and has never been known to laugh, he is difficult to conciliate.

[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

The Lord Chief-Justice.

Then there was Ahomëe (day of dancing), the Lord Chief-Justice, a white-haired old gentleman, one of the first converts, and a great pillar of the Church in days gone by, but now very deaf of ear and dull of understanding. The Minister of Finance, Junia Mafileo, the king's nephew, had not yet arrived, and Tukuaho, as President,

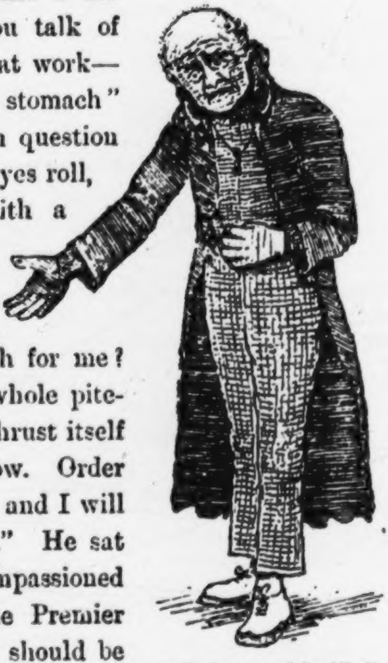
645

[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

"You are to attend your office every day," says Tungi, with emphasis.

Goschen springs to his feet in a state of frenzied emotion.

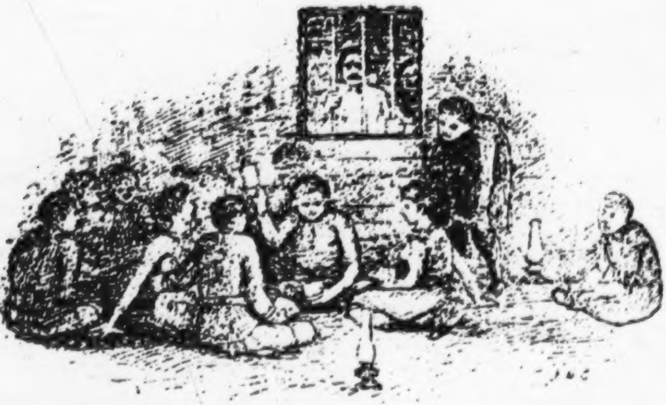
"I know," he cries, "I have not been to my office for a week. And why? Because I am alone in the world. You talk of work; well, I have been at work—my work is to fill my stomach" (he clutches the organ in question with both hands). His eyes roll, his false teeth shut with a snap, and he hisses over them, "I have no wife, no sons, no daughters. Who is to fill my stomach for me? Why," he cried, as the whole piteousness of the situation thrust itself upon him, "it's empty now. Order me to do what you will and I will do it, but only feed me." He sat down choked with his impassioned burst of eloquence. The Premier suggested that a convict should be told off to catch fish for the Minister, and dig his yams. This was a straw to the drowning financier. "Yes," he cried, "give me a prisoner, two prisoners, or even three to feed me, but I think that it will want four: feed me, and I will sit in my office all day." It was eventually decided that Goschen should attend his office on alternate days, and



"Feed me, and I will sit in my office all day."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

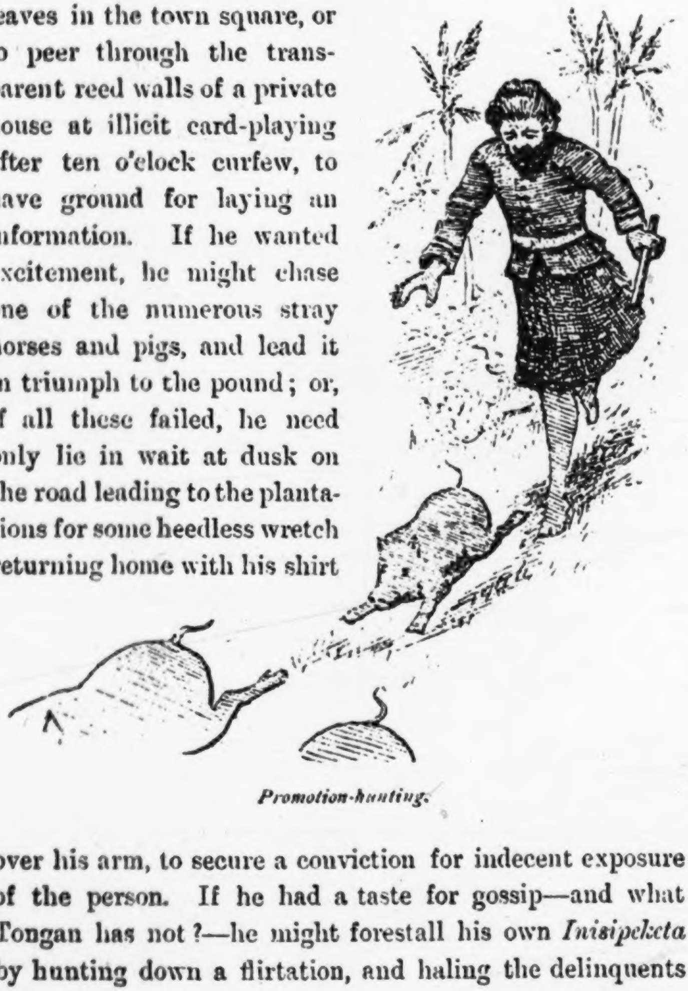
697 stances was not to be endured: the Government must either be turned out, or the prisoners must seize the Government vessels and escape to Samoa. For a time—strange though it sounds—the prisoners proved themselves to be an influential body of men, and actually embarrassed the Government by appealing to the sympathy of their
[302] friends. Their confinement at night was thought to be a despotic exercise of power, and the compulsory hair-cutting little short of a barbarity. For several days the prisoners appeared in hats, and as this marked them from other people, and also kept the sun off their heads, they were not interfered with. The only precaution we thought it necessary to take was to arm the night warder and the masters of the Government vessels.



A card-party in the jail.

One evening a few weeks later I strolled towards the jail, whence most unpenitential sounds of merriment had been reported. The men's ward and the warder's cottage can lie down at night without having been entangled in 625 the meshes of Mr Baker's code by sins of omission or commission. An ambitious *kateta* had only to note a hole 625 671 in the road, or a few dead leaves in the town square, or to peer through the transparent reed walls of a private house at illicit card-playing after ten o'clock curfew, to have ground for laying an information. If he wanted excitement, he might chase one of the numerous stray horses and pigs, and lead it in triumph to the pound; or, if all these failed, he need only lie in wait at dusk on the road leading to the plantations for some heedless wretch returning home with his shirt over his arm, to secure a conviction for indecent exposure of the person. If he had a taste for gossip—and what Tongan has not?—he might forestall his own *Inisipekta* by hunting down a flirtation, and haling the delinquents

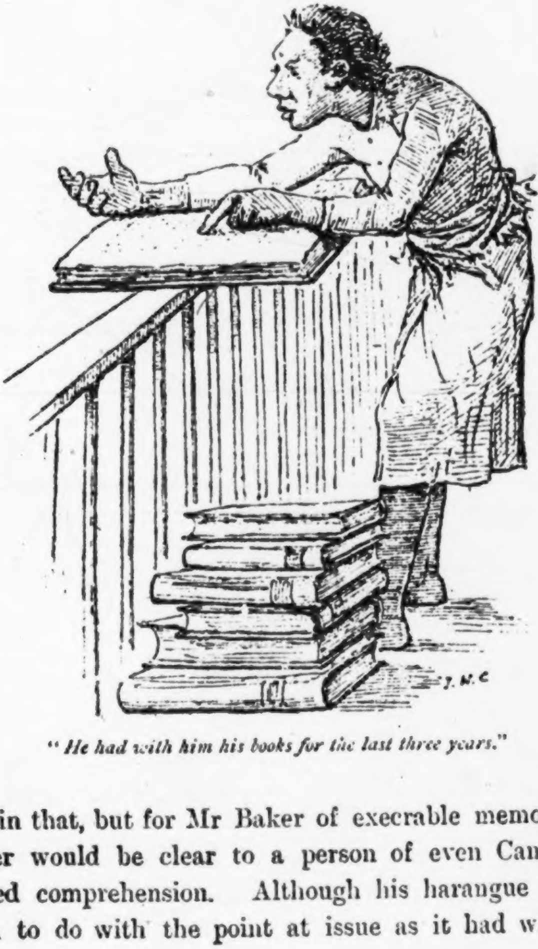
[142]
[291]
[302]



Promotion-hunting.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

he had given to the revenue collectors. The accused was 451
calm, collected, and perfectly respectful. He had with 651
him his books for the last three years, and he proceeded 652
to read them, pausing at intervals to take breath and to 687



[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

"He had with him his books for the last three years."

explain that, but for Mr Baker of execrable memory, the matter would be clear to a person of even Campbell's limited comprehension. Although his harangue had as much to do with the point at issue as it had with the

837 loved Lulu. He was her husband, chosen for her by her friends: moreover, he was an angry man.

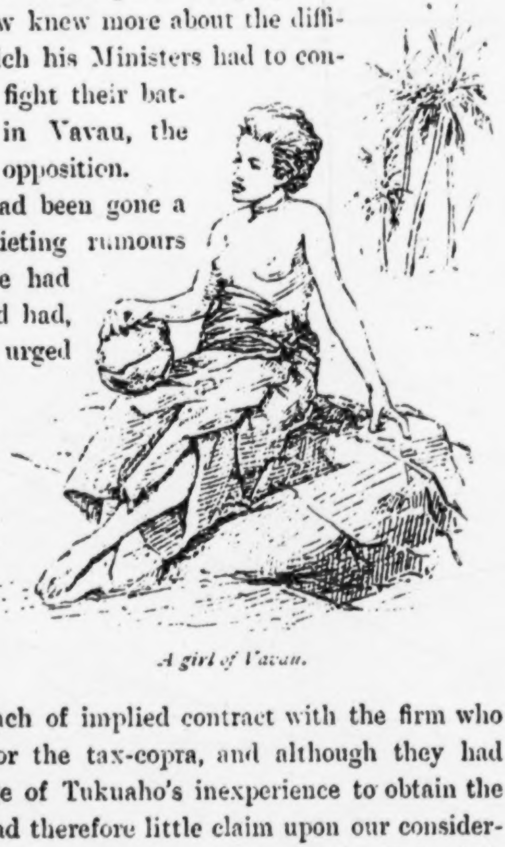
Lobase's punishment sat lightly on her. In due course bandmaster Lulu returned and compounded the matter with the jailer; but even this did not seem to soften the heart of his spouse. 593 [142] [302] Less than a week after his return he burst into my office in great excitement to complain that band practice was impossible because his cornet was locked up in his house, and "the woman Lobase" had hidden the key. The conjugal recriminations, when she was called upon for explanations, were bitter and shrill. Poor Lulu! His band in the act of rehearsing the grand march from Tannhäuser was easier to manage than his fair but fickle wife.

Lobase.

181 There is a lack of thoroughness about the Tongans. They pine to live like Europeans, to own implements and horses and saddlery, yet not one of them can bake a loaf

643 had stayed to water it, but this he would not consent to
do. His church was still a-building in Vavau, and, unless
he were there, the people would be wasting their time in
selling oranges and copra. For a while he must do the
work of God, after which he would return to his worldly
duties. I was fain to acquiesce, hoping that
as the king now knew more about the difficulties
with which his Ministers had to contend,
he would fight their battles
[142] for them in Vavau, the
[291] head centre of opposition.

● [302] But ere he had been gone a
fortnight disquieting rumours
651 reached us. He had
[643] held a *fono*, and had,
as he promised, urged
the payment of
taxes; but in
defiance of our
orders the Governor,
Manase,
had accepted
these
taxes in
money.
This was a breach of implied contract with the firm who had tendered for the tax-copra, and although they had taken advantage of Tukuaho's inexperience to obtain the contract, and had therefore little claim upon our consideration, I felt that we were morally bound by Tukuaho's word to refuse to accept money for taxes until after Dec-

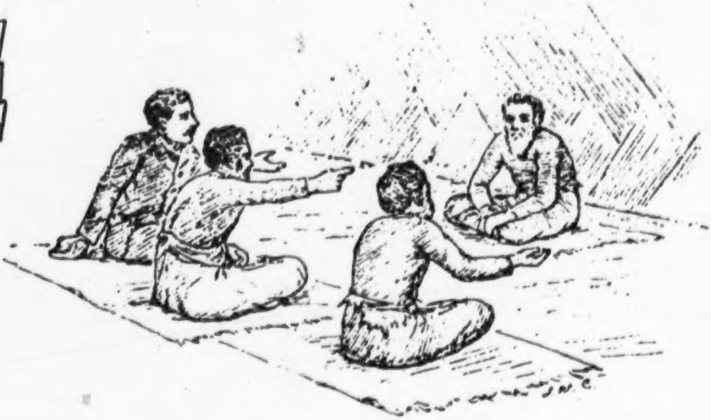


A girl of Vavau.

563 should make them hold their hand until he neglected my
441 warning, and offended again.

689 One of our first acts on landing had been to pay our
634 official visit to the Governor, who had disobeyed and
645 defied us. One always forms a clear mental picture of a
798 person whose acts and utterances are familiar, and the picture is generally ill-drawn. I had imagined this truculent Free Churchman as a self-sufficient middle-aged Tongan of the blatant kind: I found him a mild-mannered old gentleman, endowed with an apostolic saintliness of feature and expression that must have disarmed my colleagues had they not known their man so well.
[559] Manase was a chief of the third rank in Vavau, who owed his elevation to his zeal in persecuting the Wesleyans and his willingness to second Mr Baker in questionable transactions. Hitherto I had supposed him to have some

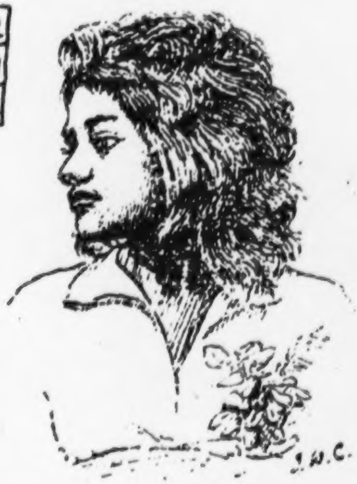
[291]
[302]
[516]



"Manase took it all in silence."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[142]
[291]
● [302]

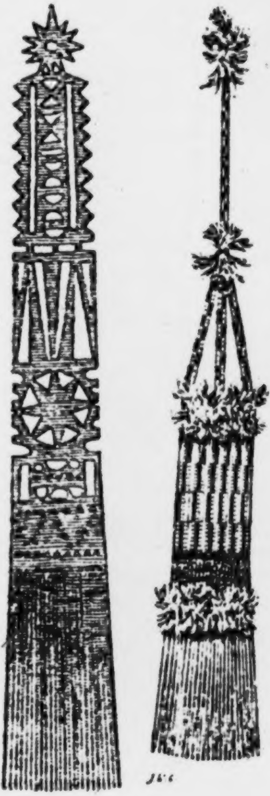


797
794

A Tongan schoolgirl.

797 But now that the missionaries are only called upon to carry on the work founded by their predecessors, and know nothing of the danger their predecessors had to encounter, it is not astonishing that, among men recruited from a lower stratum of society and education, there should be some whose behaviour has detracted from the credit of the Missionary Society, and that these have been taken by hostile critics as types of the body of which they are members. The two main charges brought against the missionaries of to-day are that they give a first place to the collection of money, and that they have introduced and kept alive among the natives the unedifying spectacle of warring Churches. To the first charge it may be answered that no Church ever was or ever will be carried on without funds, and it is surely to the credit of a mission that they should have induced the people whom they benefit to support their Church and schools instead of leaving them to make appeals to philanthropists for funds to carry on their work. For the missions are not concerned only with the spiritual needs of the natives—they also do the great practical work of maintaining day-schools in every village. The missionaries themselves

was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the 793
regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the 565
priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self-command [787]
to gasp prophecies in remarkable accordance with the [531]
chief's interest. That they, like [302]
the Augurs, could meet without grinning, was doubtless due to the grim reality of the risk that often attached to the sacerdotal office; for was not the priest of Tubou Totai already doomed to be strangled for failing to restore Finau's daughter, when sudden death overtook his patron?
Even seventeen years before the [771]
arrival of the first missionaries, the chiefs did not care to conceal their scepticism; and perhaps, if the tragic death of Finau had not seemed so signal a revenge of the outraged gods, the missionaries would have found that the ancient faith had crumbled away of itself before their arrival.

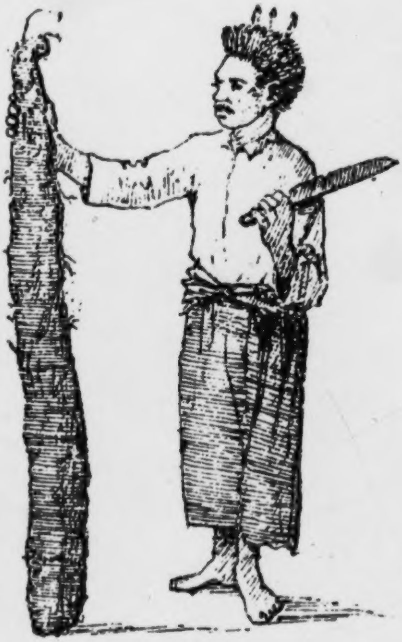


Combs.

The influence of the priests 793
had been so slight that, even with the fear of seeing their occupation gone, they could oppose no obstacle to
the new creed. They are scarcely mentioned even by 797
missionaries. The opposition came from the chiefs them- 565

eating the yams, or destroying the produce of the land, the owner of the hog shall be at once informed that he may shut the hog up, and he shall restore whatsoever be damaged. If the owner neglect to take warning, either in confining his hog, or in recompensing the damage done, and the hog be again found eating the yams, it shall then be lawful to kill the hog, and the owner of the plantation shall have the carcase for his own.

671
421
231



A giant yam.

142
291
302
244
412

By the end of 1855 the original code had been so tinkered by the missionaries that little of the original remained. Their hand is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators:—

671
797
177

XXXVI. *The law relating to men.*—You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family as well as yourself, and in order to contribute to the cause of God and the chief of the land, and each man shall find a piece of land to cultivate. Any man who is not willing to work, shall not be fed nor assisted, all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants, and unprofitable to their friends.

was to be seen. Sacrifice had been made on the altar of 646
the god Civilisation: Parliament was now to be opened 574
after the custom of their despised ancestors. Groups formed wherever a tree-top cast a patch of shade. Strings of men, swinging their limbs with the glorious freedom of

[643]
[142]
[291]
[302]

Portrait of King George Tubou.

trouserless man, filed up and flung their burdens of pig and yam upon an ever-increasing heap, while a claque of aged men shouted approval. Roast-pig scents the hot air. A grave and melancholy *matabule* is counting pigs in a monotonous chant, and each successive decimal evokes

is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi 646
ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French
priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the 646
Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and 793
wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to [465]
earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that
has received the anxious attention [142]
of the Cabinet, to whom [291]
a retrenchment of £100 a-year [302]
is of importance. He gives out [533]
a hymn, the member for Vavau,
who forms the choir, bellows the
tune, while the rest follow him
two octaves lower pianissimo.
The House shades its eyes with
its hand, while the prelate wrestles
in prayer and discreetly
withdraws. There is a pause.
Then Mataka, the chief clerk 646
(who, by the way, is still supposed
to be undergoing imprisonment
for flirting with the fair
Lobase), calls the roll. The new
members are now to take the
oath. The ceremony is imposing 646
until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members 795
arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant 798
Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible 779
translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He
returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two
members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and 646

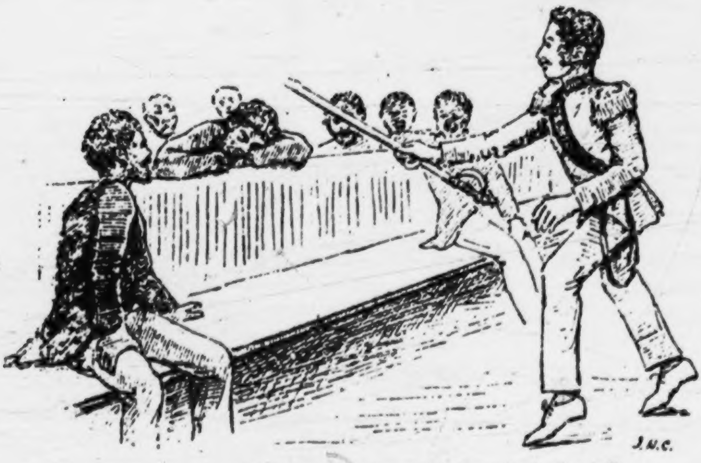
The clerk of the Parliament.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

142
302

One of the elect.

a book. It is the book of the Sleeping. I have since heard Hoho, the Roman Catholic member, declare that the insertion of his name was a malicious libel. His *lotu*, he said, obliged him to pray at noon, and to pray he had to close his eyes. The clerk retorted that if he could not begin his prayers with a hymn, as is the usage of any respectable sect, his name must be recorded in the book. After-experience taught us that the morning was more

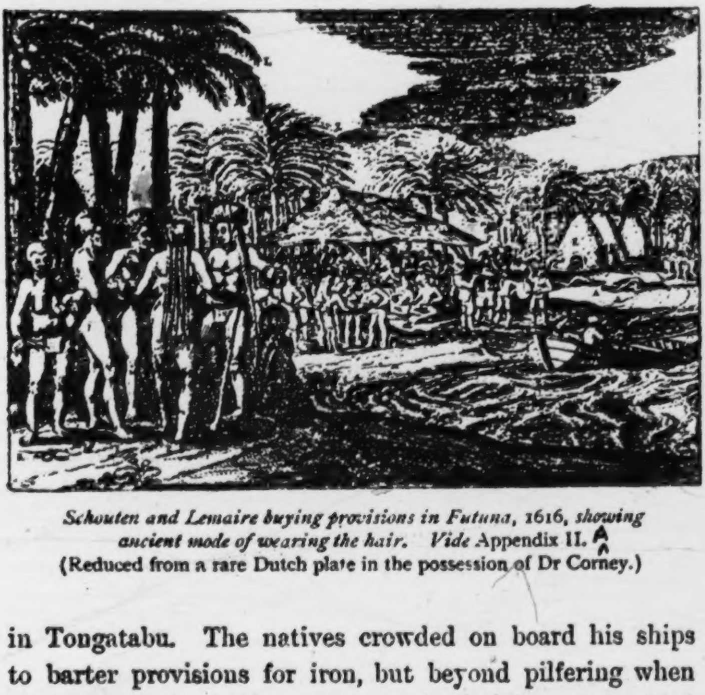


"The Sergeant-at-Arms creeps stealthily towards the Lords."

suitable for Committees, and the afternoon for third readings, for during a third reading even the Sergeant-at-Arms would close his eyes. The monotonous reading of the Premier has long ago lulled the most active of the Opposition to sleep. When the voice becomes silent the Speaker thunders out the question, eyelids tremble open, and hands go up. "Those who are against the motion will hold up their hands," but the eyelids have all closed again, and the

and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was 175
learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with 177
safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a 609
rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo



[291]
[301]
[302]
[342]
[622]
[344]
[276]
[142]
[137]
[516]

Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, showing ancient mode of wearing the hair. Vide Appendix II. $\overset{A}{\wedge}$
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

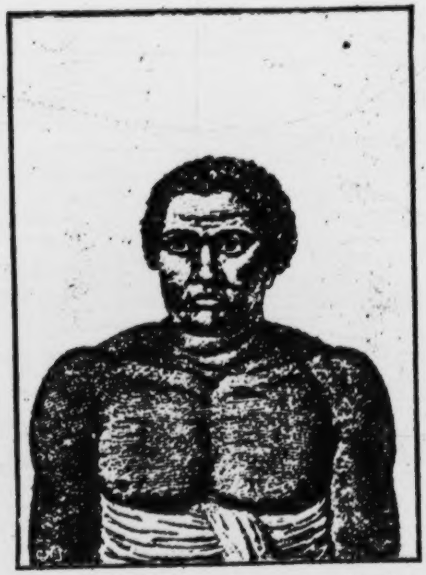
in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very
hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that 175
the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided 177
361
by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood [311]

A /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--
^ Analyst/

175 Tukuaho had rendered him so unpopular, that it was
643 easy to gain adherents to the cause of rebellion. He
669 had long been gathering the young men round him, thus
taking the position which Tukuaho had himself used to
raise himself to the position he held.

175 At last the opportunity came. It was the time of the
643 annual *inaji*, or the offering of the first-fruits to the
669 Tui Tonga, when the whole nation gathered to Mua to
782 implore a bountiful harvest from the gods. At such a
[578] time enmities and political distinctions are laid aside,
and the Tui Tonga becomes for the time, as of old, the
head of the nation. Thus when Finau and Tubou Niua,
the tributary chiefs of Haapai and Vavau, arrived at
Mua with a large body of followers carrying their share
of the offering, there could be no suspicion of their
175 designs. In the evening they took leave of the chiefs
643 and set sail with their followers as if bound for Haapai,
669 but in reality to wait on one of the small islands at
the mouth of the lagoon until the people, wearied with
dancing, should be asleep. In the dead of night they
landed on the coast some miles from Mua, and returned
overland to the capital. The night was very dark, and
they had to feel their way to the door of the king's
[302] house. When Finau had posted guards in every approach, Tubou Niua, whom he had put forward to do
the deed, crept into the house among the sleeping forms,
until he could smell the precious sandal-wood-oil with
which he knew the king's head only could be anointed.
Unwilling that he should die in ignorance of the hand
that struck him, he smote him on the face with his
open palm, and, as the sleeper started up, he cried, "It

still hope he humbled himself before the deities he had 175
slighted, and implored them to visit his sins on his own 634 776
head rather than upon hers; but the inspired priest 793
answered that her death was required as an atonement for
his continued neglect, and that a severer punishment was
in store for him. As soon as the first paroxysms of grief
were passed he determined on the most [142]
impious revenge he [291]
could devise—namely, [302]
to kill the priest
of his god, Tubou
Toutai. He had
actually sent for a
rope with which to
bind him when he
was seized with sudden [782]
illness. It was
in vain that one of
his children was
strangled to appease
the gods: in twenty-four
hours he was
dead. But the evil
he had wrought in
Tonga could not end with his life. He had found his
country in peace and plenty, he left it torn by famine
and civil war, having in his short life caused more
bloodshed and human suffering than the aggregate in
the whole of Tongan history before his time. A contemporary
writer thus sums up his character: "A char-



Finau Ulukalala, the rebel, after Labillardière. 175
(From an engraving in the British Museum.) 634

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the 161
population has been either stationary or decreasing—
slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of
epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent [164]
upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. [165]
In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough [164]
is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The [757]
mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required
to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses,
and content themselves with calling in one native
quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a
succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its
sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In 163
ancient times the women were required to do no work 462
beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating.
The men planted the food, carried in the wood and
water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so [797]
industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in [593]
most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the [178]
same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In
other respects they have greater liberty than under the
heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short 885
at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as 302
an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age 582
could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and
there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares
of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger
than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries.
This is all changed. Under the grim social 178
code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer 582

[1616]

When at about half a musket-shot's distance from them our 175
men fired four times at them. Some jumped into the water, 177
one of them with a small child. We hauled one out of the water, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his back, but not very deep, for it was hail-shot. In our vessel we secured two men who had overstayed on board the canoe, they not once resisting, for in truth they had no arms. One was an old and grey man, the other was a youth.

Presently the shallop rowed to fetch those that leapt overboard to save their lives; but they got only two of them that drove upon one of their oars, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much as to say that the rest were drowned.

In the canoe were eight women with three young sucking [501]
children, and some were about ten years old, so that altogether there may have been about twenty-five people in the canoe.

Towards evening we put the men aboard again, and they were much welcomed by their women. We gave them some beads, which they hung about their necks, and some knives. And to us they presented two fine mats and two cocoa-nuts, which were all they had to eat and drink. In fact they had drunk all the water of the nuts, so that there remained nothing more to them to drink. We saw them drink salt water out of the sea, and give it also to their young children to drink, which we thought
to be against nature. They were reddish people, and had [142]
certain clothes of a yellowish colour which they wore before [291]
their persons. They were smeared with oil, and the women had [302]
all short hair, like the men in Holland. The men's hair was long and frizzed, and very black.

Their vessel was fashioned as shown in the drawing—very 175
remarkable to see—and consisted of two long canoes covered 501
by a good broad table. Along each canoe were laid two wide planks, about the midship portion, to keep out the water; and at either end timbers were laid crosswise from the one hull to the other, securely lashed, and the ends were also decked over
in a watertight fashion. [Further description of mast and steer- 175
177

[1616]

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried 175
to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been 177
well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly desirous [181]
of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They [141]
were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. [291]
Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied [302]
up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island [481]
lies in lat. 16° 10′. [131]

On the 12th, in the morning, trading was reopened. We
bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some
water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and
every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent [136]
a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the afternoon 175
the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned 177
as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was accompanied 622
by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was
called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums [534]
and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen
or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who [609]
accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13th.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an
armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to
trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the [501]
former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great 175 177
force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began 622

---

[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title 609
Ratu.

[1616]

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hos-
177 tages on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[181] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[343] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts
along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and
12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of
the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present cere-
mony. Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and
were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

SUMMARY AS TO THE PLATES REPRODUCED IN THE TEXT.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea, off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just out of sight to their S.W.

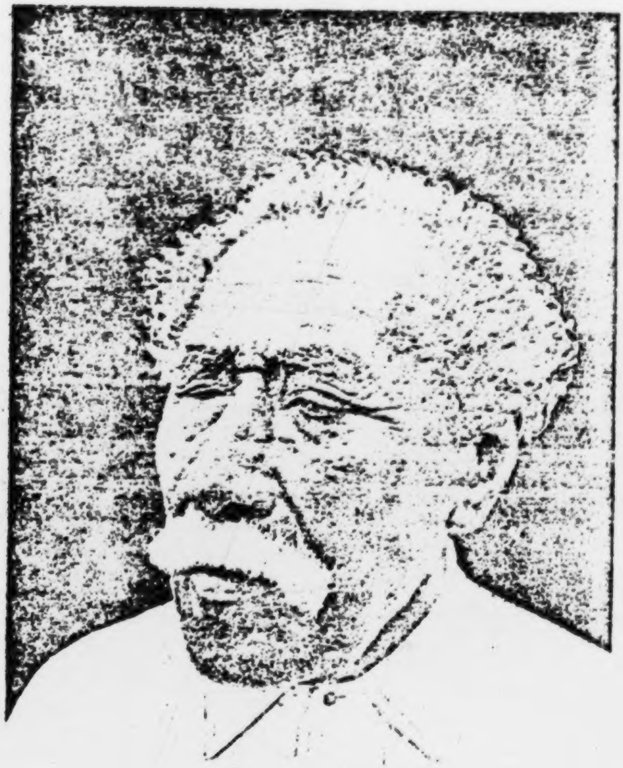
[501]
[131] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands: lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

175 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several sub-
177 jects described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs
291 are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are in-
301 troduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of head-
302 dress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the
342 drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside
344 of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are
622 making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once.
276 The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as
609 types of dwellings.
516
142
137

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

OU9 Tonga OU9

622
142
302



UILIAME TUNGI

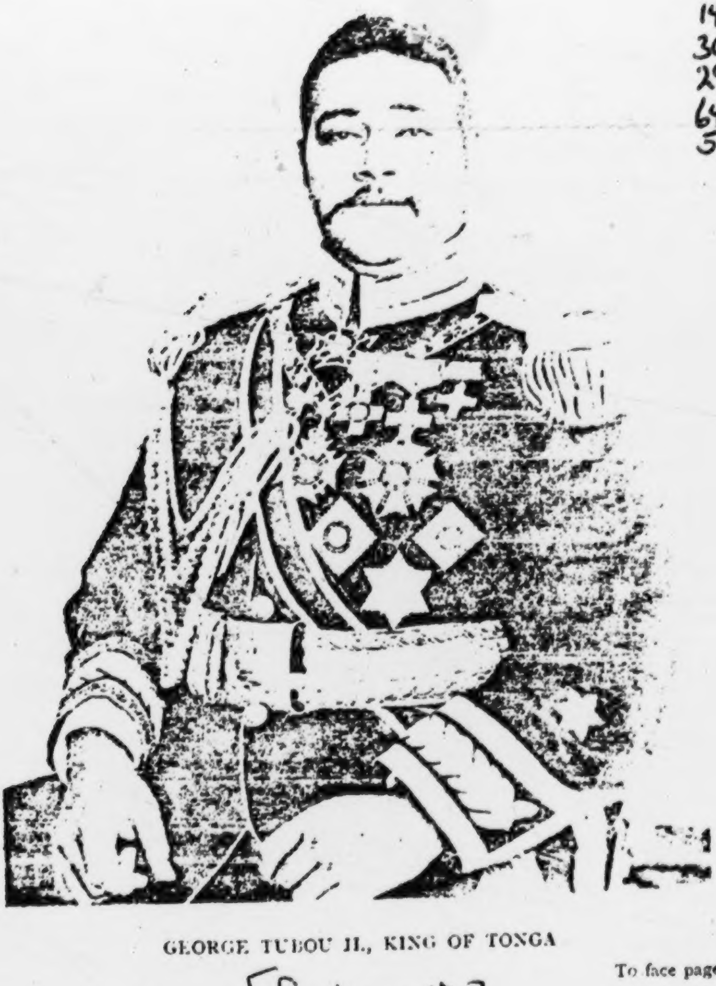
THE BLIND CHIEF OF HAHAKE

To face page 164

[facing p 164]

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

142
302
292
643
516



GEORGE TUBOU II., KING OF TONGA

To face page 170

[facing p. 170]

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

OU9 Tonga OU9

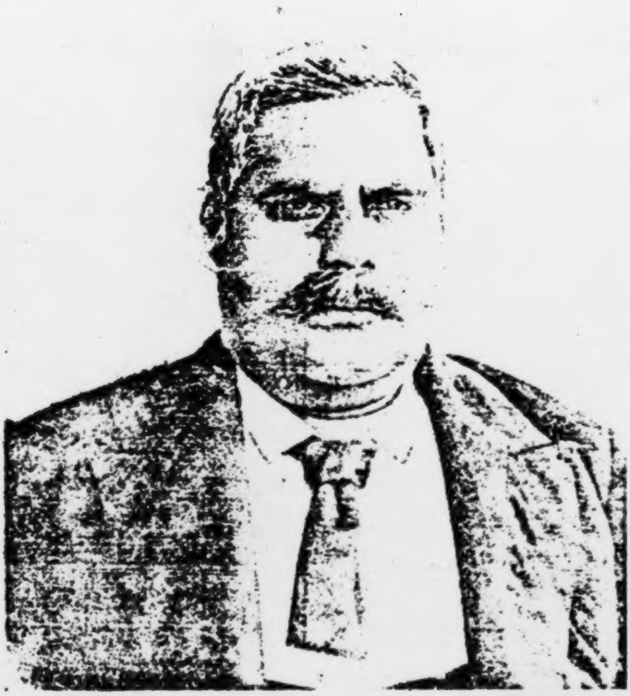
142
301
302
291

A TONGAN GIRL

[facing p. 178]

To face page 178

142
291
302
634



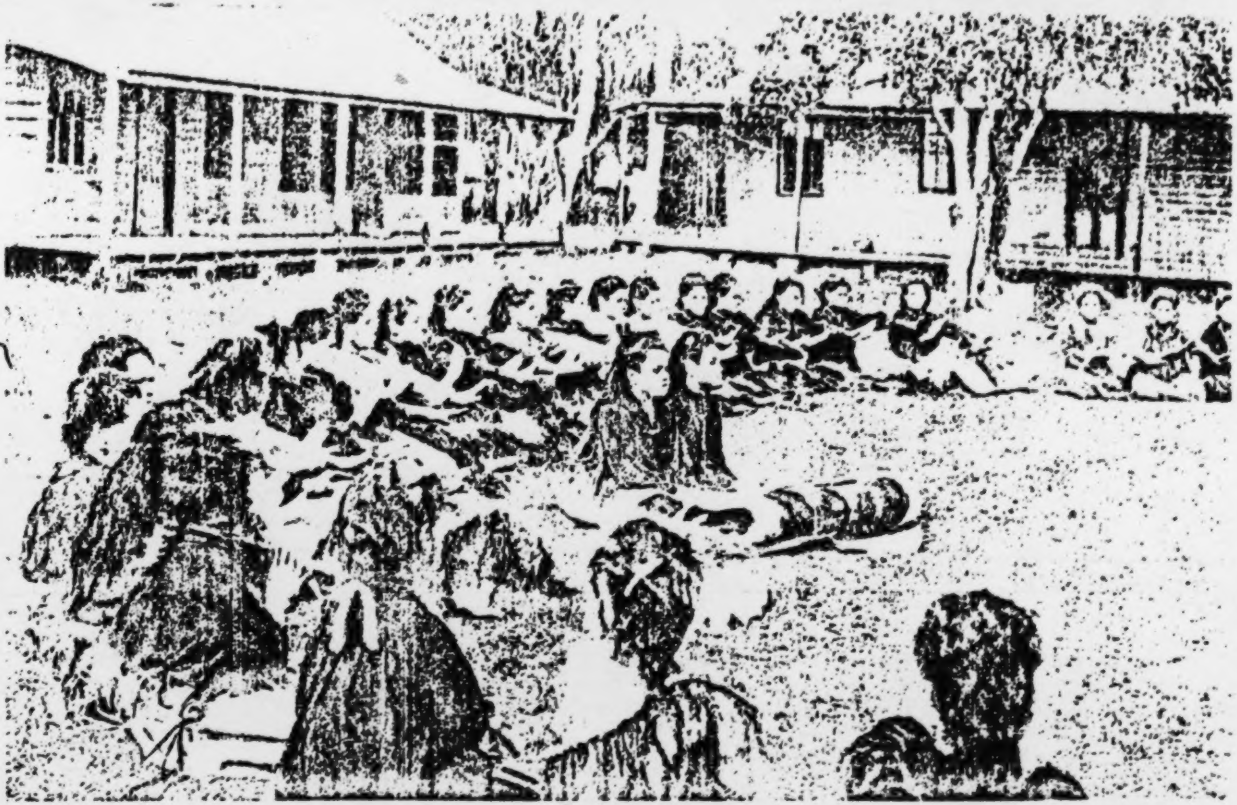
J. MATEIALONA

COUSIN OF THE KING AND GOVERNOR OF HAAPAI

[facing p. 212]

To face page 212

[facing p.222]



From a photograph by THE OTUHAKA *J. Martin, Auckland*

The two drummers sit in the middle of the semicircle

To face page 222

H/2
291
341
302
533
535

15: Thomson G-3 (1386-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

753 vain, it is remembering. The cure is what parental affection
858 naturally prompts. The absent father, or mother, or whoever it is
593 that is remembered, is communicated with, and never fails, if it is at
602 all possible, to hasten to the side of the little sufferer, and the cure
755 is wrought. Although Tongan medical practice is vitiated by the
757 inability to diagnose correctly, it would be unfair to suggest that
many valuable remedies have not been found amongst the native
● [302] plants. Ageing beauty, by the way, has found the secret of restoring
a glossy blackness to greying locks. Nor would it be fair to refuse
[758] to admit the skill with which some things, once they are recognised,
are treated, and it would be ungrateful for one who has lived long
amongst this affectionate people to forget the tender care they lavish
on the sick foreigner, as well as on those of their own race.

Both bride
585 and bridegroom are prepared for each other by bathing and anointing
[515] with sweet-scented oil, and are clad in fine mats and cloth. On
[302] both sides pigs are killed and cooked, and all the usual preparations
[292] made for feasting. The lavishness of the feast, and the amount of
[262] cloth and mats collected, are indications of the wealth and station of
[554] the families. When all is ready the bridegroom, accompanied by a
[602] man or woman who is called his "mother" *fae*, and who must be a
member of his mother's, or his mother's mother's brother's family,
goes to the bride's home, and finds her adorned and waiting for him.
[602] She too is attended by a "mother" of her mother's, or mother's
mother's brother's family. A procession is formed. Bride and
[302] bridegroom lead, closely followed by the "mothers" bearing baskets
in which are bottles of oil, wherewith they continually anoint the
couple lest the oil dry on them. Then come the bride's female
relatives, bearing the mats and cloth which her folk have prepared
for the wedding; and last are her male kin with the food, including
a special basket called the *vaifua*, distinctive of weddings and funerals,
and which is the principal food offering of the ceremony. When the
party reaches the house the "mothers" seat themselves on the dais
of mats under the shelter of greenery, and bride and bridegroom sit
on their respective "mothers'" laps. The house is filled with women
connected with the bride, no men are there, their place is with the
food, which is their especial care. Presently a woman is called from
585 the house. She approaches the bride, assists her to rise, and leads
her by the hand into the house, where the women divest her of her
clothes. The practice nowadays, whatever older custom may have
been, is for the girl to wear inner garments which are not disturbed,
but she is stripped of native cloth and mats and her wedding dress of
European material. This clothing has been provided by the bride's
family, and will subsequently fall to the share of the bridegroom's
people. She is then arrayed in clothing, inferior in quality and
quantity to that taken from her, but still good, provided by the
bridegroom, and led forth again to her "mother's" lap; but presently
another woman is called from the house to come and lead her in.
Again she is undressed, and clothed afresh in raiment given by the
husband. The clothing taken from her on this second occasion is for
the bride's people. Then she is taken out to her seat on her
"mother's" lap. If the bridegroom is wealthy the bride may be
dressed in several fresh changes, all the dresses given by the groom
[276] being gifts to the bride's family. Usually two changes suffice. Then
the *kava* is beaten up, the bowl being placed at a convenient distance
off in front of the dais. When the *kava* is ready for drinking, but
before it has been served, the husband and his "mother" rise and
go into the house, where the women undress him, putting aside his
[292] [301] clothing for the bride's family. He is dressed again in clothes, of

the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the interview 582
with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of [622]
confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European
contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will [602]
of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may
often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the
"brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—
who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that
the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule
pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain
is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other
pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the
unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate.

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the 583
parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age
the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious
ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost
happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows
to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived,
and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the
inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a
performance of the proper nuptial rites.

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the 584
muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented 533
flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display
much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature.

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be 302 ●
cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks 884
at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the 836
hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. 585
Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was 586
easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given.
Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent
by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a
Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the
ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of
the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long
union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite
prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated,
but would not be bound "till death do you part."

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred 595
that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, 562
indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have
always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had
many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European 264
dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems
strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the
end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that
each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and 302
traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and
the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their [178]
old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still
freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi 273
(foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding [656]
chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners [565]
must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted 177
long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American [41]
culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new
stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone [415]
pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed [276]
to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it
is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various 491
Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of 178
standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle 493
is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The [439]
Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged
on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of
Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance.
They are the more numerous in the former island
where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving.
The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans [177]
are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar 501
for years with gasoline launches.

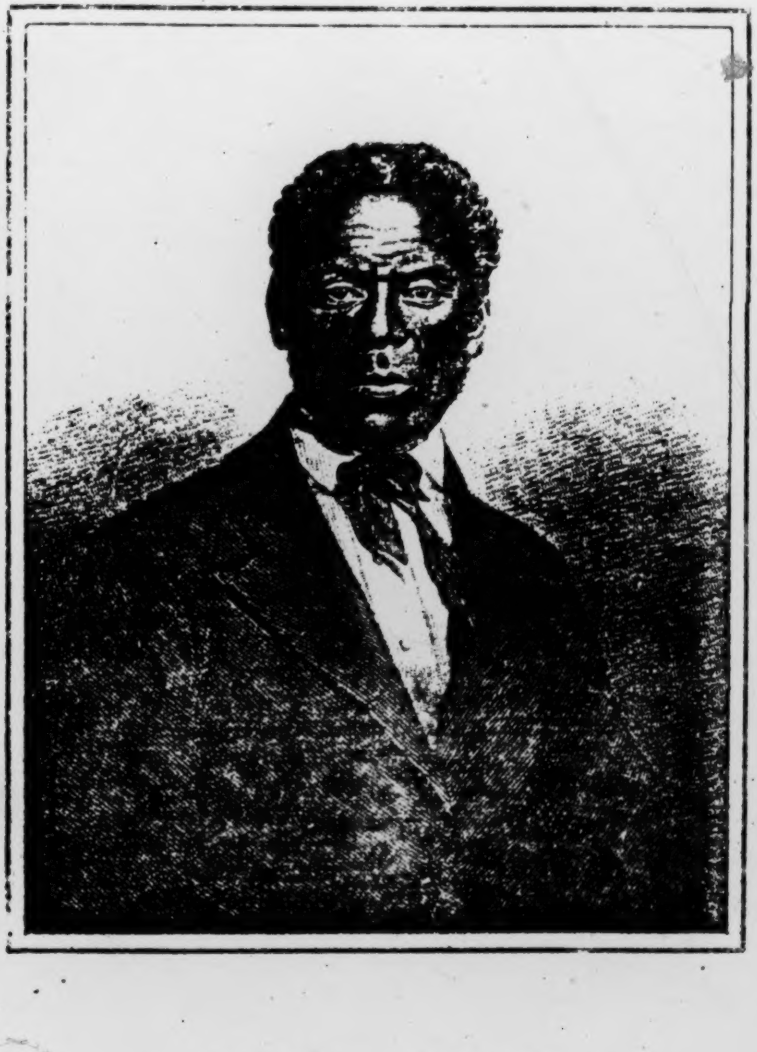
Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. 494

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. 342
Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular 177
thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be
of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not
affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native 346
architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. 178

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga 177
and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of 436
acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent 186
178

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

643
142
302
291



GEORGE TUBOU,

King of the Friendly Islands.

[facing p. iii]

Engraved by J Cochran, Esq from an Original Portrait.

643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
797 people. It was evident that very little advance
794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
[177] habits of the country. We were almost over-
[291] powered, also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
with which most of the worshippers were plenti-
[302] fully anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
great disgust. *But notwithstanding this drawback*
to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
there." The responses during prayer were united
[796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
with profound attention. At the close of the dis-
course, Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
called upon the king to pray. This he did with
[782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
[781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
large congregation. We understood very little of the language; yet we felt that there was here no hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson, at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore prepared to advance another stage on our long voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa and the neighbourhood, in observing the native habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more simple elements of the language, prepared us to face once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea life. Our final destination was now only about

136 increased zest and indomitable perseverance. The
513 best way is to let him alight, if he will, and gorge
himself with your blood; for, while so employed, you can quietly crush him. When, however, they come in troops, the contest may as well be given up at once, with as much patient resignation, as one can command.

136 The natives adopt various plans for evading the
troublesome company of these insects. In some
342 islands, where they swarm by myriads, the people
513 construct small huts, to sleep in, by the sea
shore. These huts are elevated upon four posts sufficiently high to overtop the bushes and low trees beneath, where the musquitoes nestle in greatest number. Here, no doubt, considerable relief is
136 obtained, owing to the airy position. Nor has it
been an uncommon practice, when the swarms
513 have been immense, for many of the people to
dig pits in the sands on the sea-shore, where, covering themselves in from the tormentors, they
136 have secured the necessary repose. Even the
scented oils, with which the natives anoint them-
302 selves profusely, do not deter the musquitoes from
alighting and making an attack: although there can be no doubt that these prevent or greatly diminish the irritation caused by their bite.

washing shall be adopted, than the one now followed, the article will be quite equal to any that is produced in the East or West Indies, and will command a ready market in our English colonies. 824

The *Cassava*, or tapioca plant, of South America, has been added to the starch-yielding products of the islands; but it is, as yet, very little known or appreciated.

The turmeric plant, (*Curcuma longa*,) grows wild. 824
It is called *ega* by the natives, and the powder prepared from the root is used as a cosmetic. Infants, 302
newly born, are besmeared with it, as well as [751]
the mothers; and the reason assigned is, that it strengthens the skin, and is a good preventive of catarrhal affections. Its use by the Tonguese is confined to these occasions, while in other islands of the Pacific, (such as Rotumah,) men, women, and children, are profusely powdered with it every day, much to the annoyance and discomfort of visitors. They cannot enter a dwelling, or come in contact, in any way, with the natives, without being marked and smothered in turn.

An inferior species of ginger is also indigenous; 137
but being very deficient in pungency, it is but little valued. Varieties of the shrubby Chilie plant, and of the small East Indian pepper, (*Capsicum frutescens*, and *C. baccatum*,) are both plentiful.

Indian corn succeeds admirably. It is the nearest approach to the cereals of more temperate climes that will thrive at all in Tonguese soil. In the mean time it is very little thought of, by either natives or foreigners; but when its various uses, and modes of preparation, are understood, as in

517 were comparatively harmless, but others were
obscene and demoralizing in the highest degree.
526 Boxing, club-fighting, and wrestling, were highly
popular. The proceedings were regulated by certain
541 laws, for the proper observance of which
managers were appointed, and umpires to decide
upon rival claims. These matches were often
attended with serious, and even fatal results. The
spectators delighted in blows that brought blood;
and stimulated the combatants with shouts and
yells of applause.

764 The ceremonies observed on the death of any
prominent personage, were extremely barbarous.
[302] The hair was shaved, or cut close, and the face and
[304] various parts of the body cut, bruised, or burned.
Affection or respect for the deceased was estimated
by the amount of bodily pain endured. Chiefs
764 were usually interred in tombs, constructed of
554 blocks of sandstone, cut from suitable localities by
the seashore, where, at a little depth from the surface,
565 layers of hard and durable sandstone are
found, even on many of the coralline islands. In
several of the ancient burial-places, similar stones,
arranged in terraces, surround the whole enclosure.
Some of these are of immense size, and seem to
indicate the possession, on the part of former inhabitants,
either of greater energy than the present
764 race, or of better tools and appliances. The burial
[137] places of the Tonguese are always surrounded by
the most imposing foliage of the tropics, and placed
in sequestered spots. A mound of earth is raised,
of dimensions varying with the necessities of the
place; and, whenever a grave is opened within the
limits of this mound, it is always filled up with
beautiful white sand, and never contains more than

boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long 784
lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is 302
said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and [846]
left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same [881]
length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the
girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and
I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's 585
relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when
born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its
ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all,
but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding
ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the 585
length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin 565
to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the 515
Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride
and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the
cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to
the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief
whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a
deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in
it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In
his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and
bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each
other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will
not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests
with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the 585
wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bride- 565
groom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord 844
has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the [592]
male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord con-
veniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he
uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might
grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful,
and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for

THE TUI TONGA

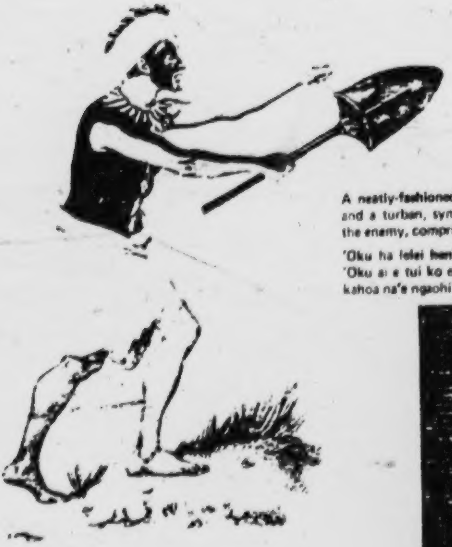
The Tui Tonga when travelling was frequently borne on a litter, 643
though land on which he stood, or houses into which he entered, did [493]
not become tabu and therefore unavailable to their former possessors
or users. Mats and cloth which he used seem not to have returned
to their former owners, but to have become the property of the Tui
Tonga. Such articles he seems frequently to have passed over to his [644]
retinue. The tabus surrounding the Tui Tonga's person were of
course strict. The London Missionary Society's missionaries who 643
arrived in the *Duff* in 1797 relate that the Tui Tonga going into their 302
house in western Tongatabu requested that they shave him. This [778]
ceremony of the toilette was performed, but until everything was
safely finished the natives about were in the greatest trepidation lest
some of the sacred hair should fall to the ground. The operation of 643
supercision could not be performed in Tonga on the Tui Tonga. He 304
had either to go without the operation or visit Samoa or Fiji for the
purpose.

CEREMONIOUS SPEECH

An interesting example of the tabu surrounding the great chiefs 565
is seen in the opening of ceremonial speeches in their presence. The 537
speaker clears away, group by group, the tabus that would prevent 195
his speaking. He says "Tabu for such a one," using an expression 784
which it is exceedingly difficult to render into English, but whose
real significance seems to be, "With all due regard to the tabu of
So-and-so." This introductory apology having been completed the
speaker will say, "It is now permissible for me to go on with my
speech." There are two important sets of these tabu formulae, one [643]
for the Tui Tonga chiefs and the other for the Tui Kanokubolu, but
naturally enough the practice of thus prefacing a speech is widely
extended. In sermons, ordinary addresses, and in conversation, anything which the speaker feels should be introduced "saving the presence of" his auditors will be introduced with this apologetic preface.
Especially is this the case when mentioning bodily infirmities to a 784
person of superior rank. A commoner would scarcely mention at all 576
a physical defect of a chief to whom he was speaking, at any rate 753 521
without the license of intimately friendly conversation, but in men- 565

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

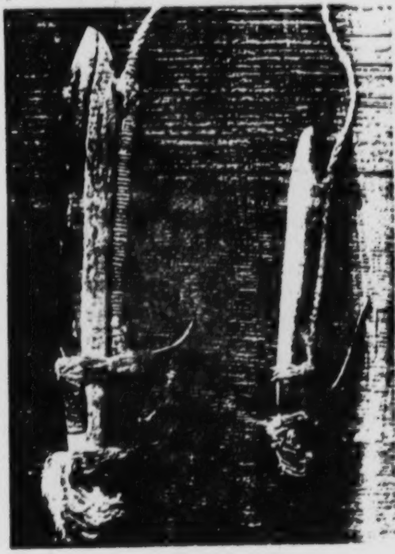
714
411
301
292
302



A neatly-fashioned weapon, blackened skin, necklace of sharks' teeth, and a turban, symbolic of defiance and self-confidence in the face of the enemy, comprise this Tongan's war costume (1827).

'Oku ha lelei heni ai e fa'ahinga teunga 'o ha tangata tau 'i ono'aho. 'Oku ai e tui ko e ma'u mei he kau Fisi 'a e valivali 'uli'uli e kili. Ko e kahoa na'e ngaohi ia mei he nifo'i 'anga.

226
227



To partake of the "harvest of the sea," early Tongan fishermen used lures and hooks (such as these) made from turtle shell, whale ivory, and mother-of-pearl shell. These old fishhooks belonged many years ago to Siosiua "Niukapu" Palefau from Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, and are preserved today as artifacts by his great-great-granddaughter, Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

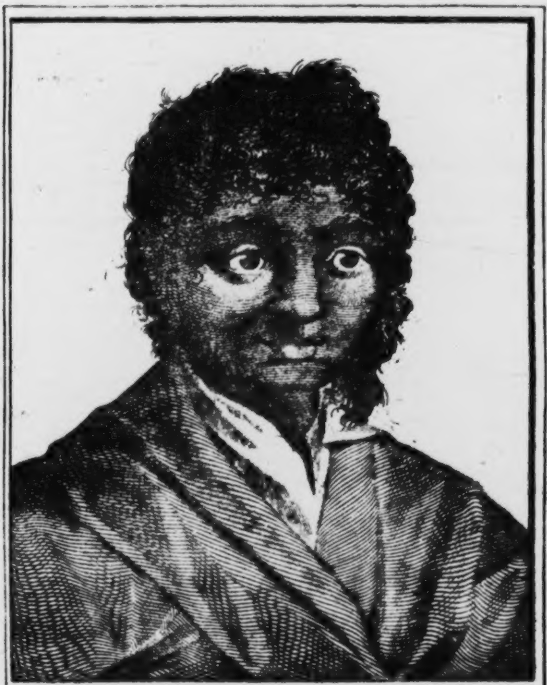
Na'e ngaue'aki 'e he kau toutai 'o ono'aho he ngaahi mata'u na'e fa'u mei he 'uno 'o e fonu, hui'i tofua'a pe ngo'esi fingota. Ko e ongo mata'u ko eni na'e ngaue'aki fuoloa ia 'e Niukapu (Siosiua Palefau) mei Tu'anikivale, Vava'u, pea 'oku kei tauhi ia he 'aho ni 'e hono mokopuna tolu ko Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu.

643 644 784 taboos were connected with his position. Because no one was allowed to touch his food or body, he was often carried about on a litter, and ceremonies of obeisance were performed towards him (e.g. *moimoi,* wherein the subject knelt down and placed the soles of the chief's feet on the subject's head, figuratively showing in humility and respect that he was beneath the monarch). 643 [304] [195] [412] [301] [302] Some of the things which were peculiar to the *Tu'i Tonga* included the fact that he was neither tattooed nor circumcised as others were, he was referred to or spoken to with a special vocabulary, he ate the meat of green coconuts with a distinctive implement (a freshly cut stick from the *toi* tree), he wore a unique type of flower garland called the *lala heilala,* and his hair was trimmed by being singed with a hot coal.[8]

[644] To prevent contamination of the royal line with

[p. 28-B]

142
291
302
175
648
439



Portrait of OTAGO, or Attago, a Chief at AMSTERDAM.

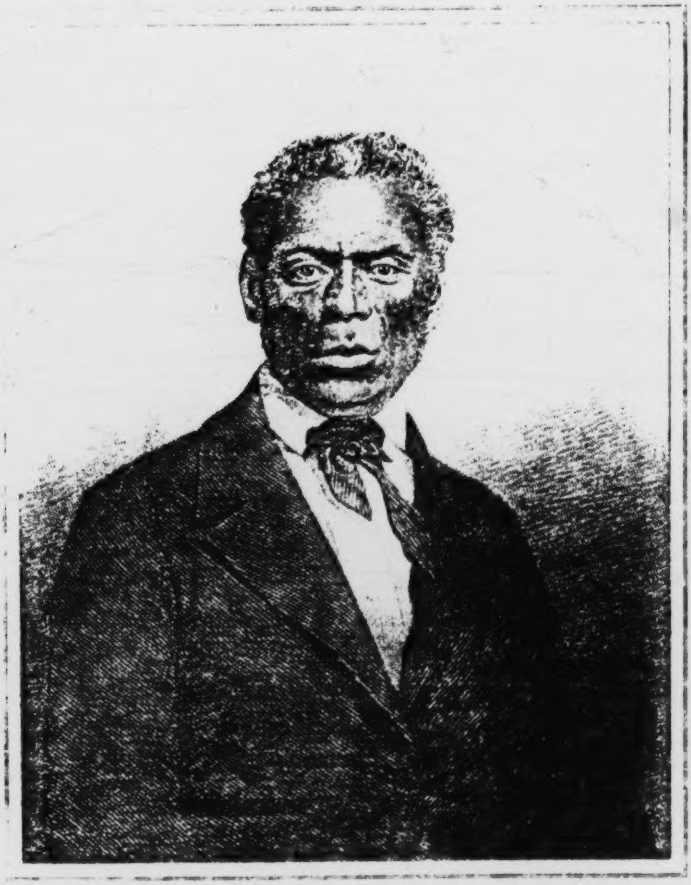
[103]

One of the chiefs of Tongatapu (or "Amsterdam," as it was called by Tasman in 1643), who became a friend of Captain Cook's and who exchanged hogs, fruit and fowls for red cloth, nails and clothing in the usual manner of islander-explorer trade relations.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o ha 'eiki Tonga na'e fe'ofo'ofani mo Kapiteni Kuki. Na'e foaki ange 'e he 'eiki ni ha me'a tokoni, pea 'oange ki ai 'e Kuki ha konga tupenu kula, fa'o, ngaahi toki ukamea pea mo ha 'u vala.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

142
291
302
643



King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I, the "leader of modern Tonga," was a wise and far-sighted ruler. Among the most noteworthy accomplishments of his reign (1845-1893) was the establishment of a representative government and a Parliament, a workable land system, and a Constitution for Tonga. [642]

Ko e tu'i poto mo 'atamai mataotao mo'oni 'a Siaosi Tupou I. 'I he 'ene kei 'i he taloni, na'a ne fokotu'u ha pule'anga 'oku kau ki ai e kau fakafofonga kehekehe pea mo e Fale Alea, kae'uma'a foki 'a hono tufotufa 'o e kelekele, pea mo hono fokotu'u 'o e Konisitutone.

205
142
291
302

Attractive Post Office employee, Losaline Kaho *(above)*, sells Tongan stamps, which are noted internationally for their ingenious designs. Postage for a first-class letter within the Kingdom costs one Tongan cent. The sleek and modern Post Office *(at right)* in Nuku'alofa disperses mail to smaller Post Office branches throughout the Tonga Islands. [344]

Ko e ki'i finemui talavou eni ko Losaline Kaho *(ta 'i 'olunga)* 'oku ngaue 'i he Positi 'Ofisi. 'Oku 'iloa foki 'i mamani e sitapa Tonga koe'uhi ko 'ene faka'ofo'ofa. 'Oku seniti pe 'e taha e meili fakalotofonua. 'Oku ha 'i to'omata'u 'a e ta 'o e Positi 'Ofisi fo'ou 'i Nuku'alofa, 'a ia 'oku fai mei ai hono tufa 'o e meili ki he ngaahi Positi 'Ofisi iiki ange 'i he ngaahi 'otu motu kehekehe 'i Tonga.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,O-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

654
242
292
142
891
902

The Government Experimental Farm in Vaini, Tongatapu, conducts experiments with livestock, soil, fertilizer, weed killers and crop rotation to improve agricultural techniques and production in Tonga. Photo above shows 'Otenili Tu'ipulotu (at right), the Farm Manager, and Saia Fia in the piggery at the Government Experimental Farm.

Faama 'Ahi'ahi 'a e Pule'anga 'i Vaini. 'Oku fai ai e ngaahi sipinga ngoue mo e tauhi manu kehekehe ke tokoni ki he fakalaka 'a e ngaue ki he kelekele. Ko e ta eni 'o e Pule Faama ko 'Otenili Tu'ipulotu (to'omata'u) pea mo Saia Fia 'i he fale fanga puaka 'i Faama.

207

"The Call of the Friendly Islands," Tonga's radio station A3Z, carries local and overseas music, as well as news bulletins in both Tongan and English. Since radio is the most popular and efficient form of communication in Tonga today, A3Z allows time each day to broadcast funeral and other personal messages to villages and distant islands not serviced by telegraph or telephone. Former A3Z Manager, 'Uliti Palu, is pictured here in his office in Nuku'alofa.

"Ui 'a e 'Otu Felenite," ko e lea ma'u ia 'a e kautaha fakamafola lea 'i Tonga ko e A3Z 'i Nuku'alofa. 'Oku fakamafola ai e ngaahi fasi fakatonga mo e fakapalangi foki, pea pehe pe mo e ongoongo. 'Oku fakamafola ai foki mo e ngaahi popoaki kehekehe, kau ai e ongoongo fekau'aki mo e pekia. Ko e ta eni 'o 'Uliti Palu 'i he 'ene kei pule 'i he A3Z.

207
403
142
291
302

[p.79]

Tu'ivakano, noble of Nukunuku and one of the 33 hereditary nobles of Tonga, is a talented and well-known composer of Tongan music.

Ko e taha eni e punake mohu taleniti mo ongoongoa, 'a Tu'ivakano. Ko e taha foki ia 'o e kau nopele tukufakaholo 'e 33 'i Tonga. Ko e nopele ia 'o Nukunuku.

142
291
302
565
533

142
291
302
812

Tongan scholar, Sione Latukefu, Ph.D. Philosophy, is author of the book *Church and State in Tonga* (Australian National University Press, 1974)

Ko e tangata ako mo'onia eni ko Sione Latukefu, 'a ia 'oku ne ma'u e mata'itohi ma'olunga ko e Toketa Filosofia. Kuo ne fa'u foki ha tohi ko e *Church and State in Tonga* [Siasi mo e Pule anga 'i Tonga], 'a ia na'e pulusi 'i he 1974.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u*, and wrap
the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima*, named *kumifonua*. Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua*, is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.[24]
For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased
make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant.
[276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule*. Sometimes *pulua*
[574] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral,
when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

765 Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now
they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.[25] The family
● [302] and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten
[784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted,
[593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers
[602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but
[292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For
these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — Some Concluding Observations on Ramification and Stratification

In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation
121 and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information.
114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to
114 *ha'a*. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to
565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

---

[24] According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga*, undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.

[25] Koch 1955: 84.

The Discovery having recovered her small bower anchor Shifted 122 Wed. 7
her birth, but not before the best bour Cable shared the same
fate as the other.[1] Had the Company of Feenough to dinner, and
also the next day when he was attended by Tapah, Toobow and Thur. 8
some other Chiefs, none but Tapah was allowed to sit at table with 648
him or to eat in the same place; before his arrival I had generally, 634
what with men and Women a larger company than I could find room 565
for. It is not here as at Otaheite, for the women to be denied the 264
previledge of eating with the men. The first day of our arrival the 264
Indians stole out of the Ship a larg[e] Junk ax,[2] I applied to Feenough 576
to have it again and it was brought on board while we were at dinner.
These people very frequently took oppertunities to shew us what 264
expert thieves they were, even some of the Cheifs did not think this 562
profession beneath them; one was caught carrying out of the Ship
concealed under his cloathes the bolt belonging to y^e^ Spun yarn 648
wench,[3] for which I ordered him a dozen lashes and made him pay a 685
hog for his liberty,[4] after this we were not troubled with thieves of
rank, their servants or slaves were employed in this dirty work, on [634]
which a floging made no more impression than it would have done [565]
upon the Main-mast; their masters so far from making intrest for [681]
them when they were caught would very often advise us to kill them,
and as this was a punishment we did not chouse to inflect they generally
escaped unpunished, because we could inflict nothing which
they thought a punishment. Capt. Clerke hit upon a method which [302]
had some effect, this was by shaving their heads for though it is not a
very uncommon thing to see both men and women with their heads
shaved, yet its being done on this occasion was looked upon as a mark
of infamy and marked out the man. On the 10th Feenough dined on Sat. 10 000

---

[1] According to Griffin, 7 May, the *Discovery* first lost her best bower anchor, and then let go her small bower in 35 fathoms and veered to half a cable; the ship drove and the anchor hooked the *Resolution*'s cable. The stream anchor was then carried out to the eastward to keep clear of the *Resolution*. Next day they carried out the kedge anchor and warped the ship some distance from the small bower, by which means they got it unhooked from the *Resolution*'s cable, 'hove up the Anchor found the Buoy Crush'd to pieces, I suppose from its being drawn under the Resolutions Anchor. . .'.

[2] Axes, says Blanckley, *A Naval Expositor* (1750), 'are used for cutting up Junk or cleaving wood'. Junk was old cable cut into short lengths; it was teased out and used again for various shipboard purposes.

[3] i.e. winch. A small winch with a fly-wheel was used for making ropes and spun-yarn.

[4] 'An Indian of some consequence who was with Fēē'nōū stole [blank] on board for which he was severely flogg'd then had his hands tied firmly behind and was carry'd to the place where we traded on shore but not releas'd till a large hog was brought for his ransom. I am far from thinking there was any injustice in punishing this man for the theft as it cannot be determined what might be the consequence if such practices had been permitted but that he should be confin'd in a painfull posture for some hours after or a ransom demanded after proper punishment for the crime had been inflicted I believe will scarcely be found consonant with the principles of justice or humanity upon the strictest scrutiny.' —Anderson, 9 May.

WEDNESDAY 21st. The next morning I took a walk into the island, 241
which I found to be finely laid out into Plantations that were ex- [177]
treemly well Cultivated and planted with such roots and fruits as
are common to the island, and I made some addition by sowing the
seeds of Indian Corn, Millons Pumpkins &c^a^. All the Plantations [417]
were finced round and publick roads lay between them. When I went [491]
on board to dinner I found a large sailing Canoe fast to the Ships
stern; in this Canoe was *Latouliboula* who, we understood, was King
of Tongatabu when I visited the island last Voyage.[1] He sat in the 648
Canoe with all that gravity by which he was distinguished at that 644
time, nor could I by any means prevail upon [him] to come into the
Ship. The people called him *Arekee* which signifies King,[2] a title I had [554]
never heard one of them give Feenough which made me suspect he [634]
was not the King. Latouliboula remained under the stern till the
evening when he retired to one of the isles. Feenough was on board
at the same time but neither took any notice of the other.

THURSDAY 22nd. Nothing material happened the next day, except- 648
ing some of the Indians stealing a Tarpauling and some other things
from of the deck, they were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but 685
a little too late, I applied to Feenough to have the things returned, 634
he refered me to Earoupa and he put me of from time to time and at
last nothing was done.[3] In the morning of the 23rd as we were going to 23rd

---

evening with a dance, by some of their dancing Women, who are early trained to it, for the [648]
entertainment of the great.—The principal Women who have at all times an Air of conse-
quence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them; the dancers were upon 541
this occasion particularly well dress'd after their manner, which consists of a large piece of
their cloth of a brown colour, first doubled, & then with great exactness folded on the 533
upper part into about thirty plaits, & tied with a kind of ribband made of the leaves of the
plantin tree, dyed of different colours, round their waist, their hair is adorned w^th^ a 535
variety of flowers, & the upper part of the body rub'd over with a perfumed Oil: from the [177]
stiffness of the cloth, its being plaited, & the manner it is put on, they look like persons
just springing out of a cask; in these dances the Women have a variety of figures, all [292]
which they perform well, but with great labour to themselves: the custom of going with
the upper part of their bodies naked is thought no way indecent, as the frequent view of [301]
the persons so expos'd rather checks than incites every loose appetite, to us the appearance
of those women who had bore many children was rather disgusting; but our ideas of [302]
disgust were soon changed into that of admiration when We beheld the most beautiful
forms that imagination can conceive in the younger part of the Sex.'—Williamson.

[1] Latunipulu, the male *Tamaha*, the man of 'sullen and stupid gravity' whom Cook met in October 1773 at Tongatapu.—II, pp. 256–8:—'a chief whose odd and wild manners attracted our attention', says King. He would not trust himself in the ship, but 'he was very eager for our curiosities, & if trust'd into his hands woud not return them, his attendants however settled the prices.'—King, 22 May.

[2] *'Eiki*, a chief, a lord; or head of a family. The Maori *ariki* (a first-born in a family of note) may have been in Cook's mind. Other journals render the word as 'agee' or 'egee'.

[3] Both sides suffered. 'Punish'd Chris^r^ Kervin with 12 lashes for losing his ramrod (which I believe the Indians stole) during the Time he was Centinel, purposely to prevent their committing any thefts.' Next day Thomas Stretcher got 6 'for suffering the Indians to steal his Boathook'.—Clerke, 21, 22 May. Next day again 'Punished one of the Indian chiefs with 15 Lashes for Theft. Had we made an Example of every one of these people that deserved it, Punishments wou^d^ have been Endless, for their Skill in Pilfering is almost past

SUNDAY 25*th*. In my walk to day I happened to step into a house [757]
where a Woman was dressing the eyes of a young child which was 752
blind; the eyes were much inflamed and seemed to be covered with a
thin film. The instruments she used were two slender wooden probes, [413]
with which she had probed round the eyes so as to make them bleed;
she had almost finished the opperation when I went in so that I saw
but little of it.[1] In the same house another women was shaving a 302
Childs head with a Sherks tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick,
she first wet the hair before the razor with a rag diped in water; the 237
opperation gave no sort of pain to the Child although the hair was [412]
taken off as close as any of our razors would have done it,[2] I tryed
one and found it an excellent succedanuem. But the men shave the
beard with two shells, one of which they place under a small part of
the beard and with the other scrape that part off;[3] in this manner
they will shave very close, the opperation is rather long but no ways
painfull and there are men who seem to profess it, and it was as
common for to see some of our men sit to be shaved by these shavers,
as it was for the Chiefs to come aboard to be shaved by our Barbers.[4]

Finding we got little or nothing where we lay,[5] I resolved to 122
change our station and wait Feenoughs return in some other place; 133
accordingly in the fore noon of the 26th we got under sail and Mon. 26
stood to the Southward along the reef of the island, having 14
and 13 fathom water a sandy bottom. We however met with several
detatched Shoals, some were descovered by breake[r]s, some by the
Water upon them appearing discourlered and others by the lead. At
half past two PM having past several of these shoals and seeing more

---

were said to be at Huahine; and he was to have another one, p. 196 below. '... the man gave such answers & drew the number of the masts upon the sand, as to stagger us & put some confidence in the report, the fellow was very ready to go in our boats to prove the truth of his tale.'—King. [648]

[1] Mariner has an interesting paragraph on Tongan ophthalmia and eye-surgery, II, p. cii: ending, 'Mr Mariner neither saw nor heard of but one man who had lost his sight by disease'.

[2] 'an absolute falsity [it] will not take it off so [well] as scissors.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 260.

[3] 'this is a better [plan] and they cut their bea[rds] off pretty close.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261.

[4] 'none of our Sailors could bear it & none more than once try['d how] they liked the meth[od].'—Bligh AL, I, p. 261. Cf. Ellis, I, p. 93, on Tongan feelings in the matter: 'This operation [with shells] however is rather painful and tedious, and observing how expeditious and clean we performed it, they were desirous of trying it also; and it so far exceeded their expectations that scarce a day passed without plenty of customers.'

[5] 'But we have purchased almost all their commodities; they having very few things to dispose of except their young Girls which seems to be almost the only trade at present, & indeed is very advantageous to the men, for they are paid a hatchet for every nights lodging, or a Shirt.—This seems the Common run of trade—but in some instances I have seen two hatchets & a shirt or sheet given for a Nights lodging with a fine young Girl.—The men receive what is agree'd for & leave them on Board, & come for them again the next morning, & if the girls get any thing more they take it away the moment they come.'—Bayly T, 28 May. [336] [439]

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who 485
properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance, amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood; all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees, which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the cheifs. In 764
this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking 264
the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.[1] On further enquiry, found that 784
one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time. At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21st. Early the next Morning the King came on board to 648
invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He 643
had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment[2] in order to reden his hair which was [302]
naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, 431
fixing in an upright and square position $\begin{pmatrix} \circ & \circ \\ \circ & \circ \end{pmatrix}$ four very long posts, 648
near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were 643
afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized[3] sticks a 417
cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to prevent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing, they would have swore it could not be done without Carpenters and the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

---

[1] *tapu mate.*

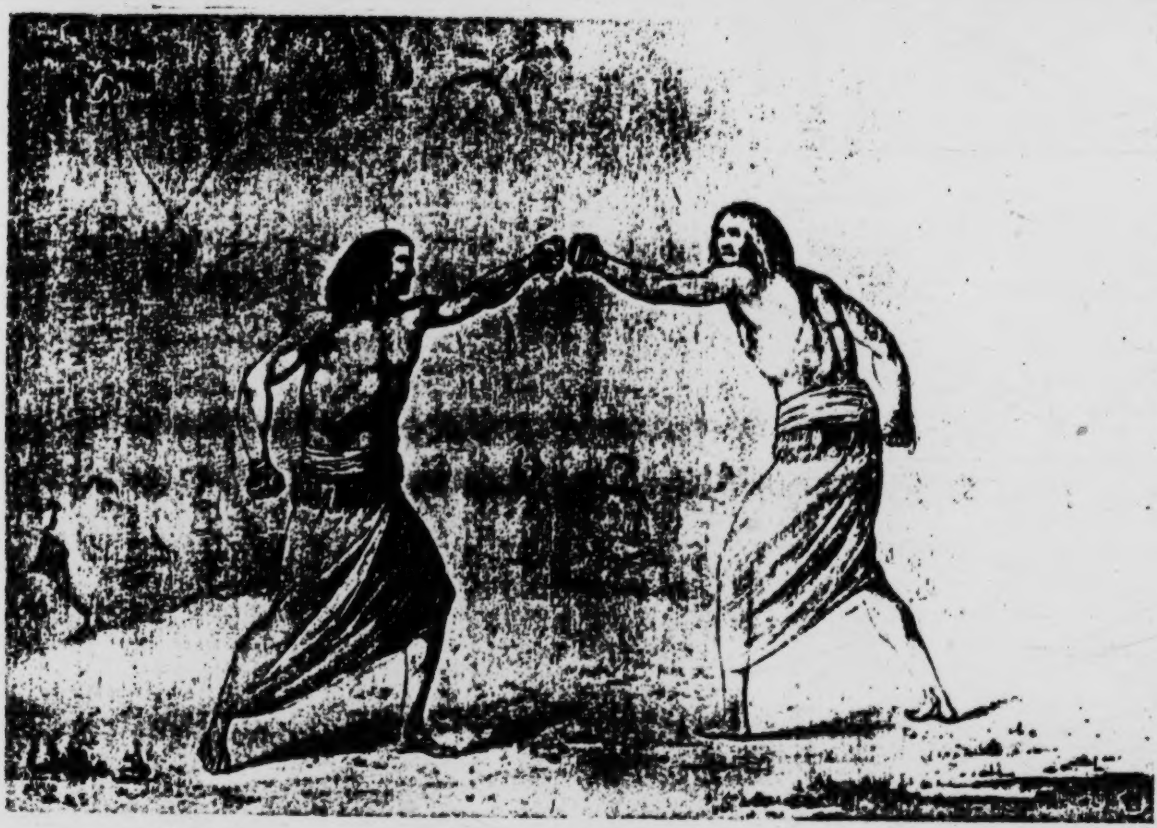
[2] Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smeared'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

[3] A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seized to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

[Facing p. 144-D]



Pl. 19. Tongan boxing

Drawing by Webber.— B.M., Add. MS 15513·9

291
302
526

soon begin and desired not to walk out, I however had resolved to 651
peep no longer from behind the Curtin, but to make one of the
number in the Ceremony if possible; with this View I stole out of the 796
Plantation and walked to wards the Morai; I was several times ap- 123
plied to to go back by people who were passing to and fro, but I paid no regard to them and they suffered me to pass on. When I got to the Morai, I found a number of men seated on one side of the Area on each side of the road which led up to it; a few were seting on the other side the area and two in the Middle of it facing the Morai. When I got into the midst of the first company I was desired to sit down which I accordingly did. Where I sat down were a number of small bundles or parcels made up of Cocoanut leaves, and tied to sticks made into the form of hand barrows, all the information I could get of them was that they were *Tabu.* Our number kept continually increasing, every one coming from the same quarter; every now and then, one or another of the Company would turn himself to those that were coming and make a short spea[c]h in which the word *Arekee,* that is King was generally mentioned. One made a speach which made them all laugh heartily, others met with publick applause. I was several times desired to go away, and at last when the[y] found I would not stir, they, after some seeming consultation, desired I would bare my shoulders as they were, with this I complied[1] after which they seemed no longer uneasy at my presence. I sat here a full hour without any thing more going forward than what I have mentioned. At length the Prince, the Women and the King all came in as they did the day before and as soon as the King was seated three Companies ran forward and backward a cross the Area as they did then. Soon after the two men who sat in the Middle of the Area, made a short speach or prayer, then all of us started up and ran and seated our selves before the shed under which the Prince and three or four men were siting. I was now partly under the management of a man who seemed very assiduous to serve me and placed me in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, I might very well have seen every thing that passed, but it was necessary to
sit with down cast eyes and as demure as Maids. Soon after the 651
Procession came in as the day before, with a Cocoanut leafe plated 796
round the Middle of the pole or stick which they bore on their Shoulders, and which they laid down with the same ceremony as they

---

[1] 'We who were on y^{e} outside were not a little surprised at seeing Cap^{t} Cook in y^{e} procession of the Chiefs, wth his hair hanging loose & his body naked down to y^{e} waist; no person being admitted covered above y^{e} waist, or with his hair tyed; I do not pretend to dispute the propriety of Capt^{n} Cook's conduct, but I cannot help thinking he rather let himself down. . . .'—Williamson, f. 64v. [292] [302]

time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the 651
Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there ap- 796
peared some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large
sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and
waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us
they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step;
presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large
sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly
threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others
fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then re-
turned to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge 651
usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came
from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these 796
were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at 526
the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few
minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was
wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men 651
seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I 796
thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole [537]
assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets
which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before
because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they
became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that
whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically repre-
sented, and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except
the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the [124]
whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any
other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have
before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince
was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by
the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in
yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the cere-
mony, we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath
of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the
immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to
furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically
represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a
great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a
great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was
performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and [123]
deportment had never been called in question on any account what- [292]
[302]
[516]

651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
796 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
123 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked together,
292 all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
302 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
516 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be performed
651 on the same account in about three months time in which
796 ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive
that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as
782 necessary.

Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
122 were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation
to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
643 Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on
766 board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he
would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman, most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer; beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should certainly visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother
to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not admited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

---

[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

B

128 the other.[1] To have swell'd the Journal with a minute accou[n]t of bearings tacking &c[a] would neither have been entertaining nor usefull.

121 114 What has been here Omitted concerning the Geography of these islands will be found in the Narrative of my last Voyage; to that Narrative I must also refer for several particulars concerning the Inhabitants, their Manners and arts, as I shall now confine my self to such things as are intresting and not mentioned in that Narrative and such as may tend to explain some passages in the account of our transactions with them.

124 It may indeed be expected that after spending between two and three Months among these islands, I should be enable[d] to give a good account of the customs, opinions and arts of the inhabitants, especially as we had a person on board who understood thier language and he ours.[2] But unless the object or thing we wanted to enquire after was before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only without falling into a hundred mistakes; in this Omai was more liable than us because he never gave himself the trouble to gain knowledge for himself, so that when he was disposed to explain things to us his account was often very confused. It was also very rare we found a person both able and willing to giving us the information we wanted, for the most of them hate to be troubled with what they probably think idle questions. 123 Our situation at *Tongatabu* where we remained the longest, was likewise unfavourable; it was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers; it was always holyday with our visitors as well as with those we visited, so that we had but few oppertunities of seeing into their domistick way of living.

144 *Persons Manners and Customs*

As to the people they differ very little from those of Otaheite either in their persons or desposition, if any thing these have the advantage in being better limbed and finer shaped, but than their complexion is much darker.[3] 142 The hair is of different colours that is black, dark brown and flaxen,

302

---

[1] By the 'annexed Chart' Cook must, I presume, mean the original from which was engraved Pl. XII of the printed *Voyage*, I, on which Bligh makes the comment (AL, p. 225), 'This is a Copy of my Chart, which was an entire Survey of my own except the South side of Amsterdam & the Isl^d Eooa which C. Cook laid down'. See, for a modern equivalent, Fig. 5 in the present volume.

[197] [2] We get a note on the language from Burney, f. 205. 'The Tongitabu language is more distinct and easier to be learnt than the Otaheite. it is less composed of vowels and does not afford so many instances of words nearly alike conveing different meanings. the G and K are sounds not used by the Otaheiteans and which they are not able to pronounce. in many words the gradual change of language may be traced from the Society Islands to the westward; as in Boa (a Hog) at Otaheite, Boakko at Tongitabu and Wacka at Horn Island.'

[3] Because of their position on the Polynesian-Melanesian borderline.

A [See category 102, p. 104--Analyst]

but not many of the latter except what is made so by art, for they 302
have a method of staining it so that we frequently see different colours [142]
on the same head.[1] The Women in general wear it short, but the men
have it in various forms, according to fancy, it is not very uncommon
to see a man with the hair cut of one half of his head and on the other
half very long. When I was first at these islands, I thought it had been
a universal custom for both men and Women to wear it short, and at
that time I did not see above one or two exceptions, but now we saw
a great many. To have the hair croped, does not arrise from custom 765
wholy, it is a Mark of Mourning, both general and particular.[2] The [302]
amputation of the little finger and cuting, or pricking the face over
the Cheek bone with a sharks tooth is done on the same account.[3] 765
And besides this, some tho not many, inflect upon themselves a testi- 304
mony of their regret for the loss of a friend or relation, *Wounds* which
from the scars that remained, must have been deep and to all appear-
ence dangerous; so that at first we thought they had been wounds
received in battle. They frequently anoint thier heads and bodies 302
with Cocoanut oil, but as it is very pure and never rancid, no dis-
agreeable smell arises from this Custom. They have the same custom 304
of staining their bodies as is practised at Otaheite, and with very
little variation either in the Manner or Method. Thier Kings as a [565]
Mark of destinction are exempted from this custom and also from [765]
practiseing any of those bloody marks of Mourning.

Thier clothing consists of cloth, or Matting, but mostly the former, 291

---

[1] Cf. II, p. 267. Anderson elaborates on this. A

[2] 'When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of [766]
mourning (*tuunga*). The hair was not "bobbed", but was removed quite close to the
scalp. . . . chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon [565]
the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha . . .'—Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 199. For Gifford's
'*tua* retainers' read 'kin lower in rank than the deceased'.

[3] The maltreatment of the face was certainly mourning; but neither Cook nor any of his [782]
men, except Anderson and King, ever seem to have hit on the significance of the amputa-
tion or partial amputation of the finger, as a sacrificial or intercessory rite for the life of a [755]
sick person. With Bayly, 17 May, indeed we get a triumph of misinformation, worth printing as an example of how far it is possible to go wrong: 'These people cut off the little finger of the right hand at the death of a Father or brother with this difference for a brother they cut off only one joint—but when the father dies they cut off the whole finger; When a sister dies they cut off one joint of the little Finger of the left hand, but at the death of a Mother they cut off the whole finger. For other relations they cut their hair short, & beate the cheake-bone with their knuckles till the blood run which they smear about the face & body where it remains some days & then wash themselves & the mo[u]rning is over.' King gives us sense: 'The rigour of their mourning at once shews that their Affections do not cease at the Grave & that they consider death as a great evil, for the mutilation of the little finger is as a propitiation to avert the consequences in themselves or chiefs of sickness; besides the Tooge of the men, burnt circles on the Arms of the women & their hair cut short, on the death of their relations they beat out their teeth with stones, thrust spears thro the inner part of the thigh, in the sides, below the Armpits & thro the Cheeks, whether all this can wholly arise from Affection or superstitious notions I cannot say.'

A [See 55: Anderson, this file--Analyst]

other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent us dis- 609
covering, whereas the only crime we know they have a propensity to 685
is theft to which all sexes and ages are addicted in an uncommon [157]
degree. It should however be consider'd that this blemish to their
reputation is merely with respect to us, for amongst themselves
stealing is a crime not at all more common if so frequent as in other
countrys, though it is doubtless sometimes practic'd. In other places
the motives to such a transgression are commonly Avarice, Indolence 685
or absolute want, but here it seems to arise solely from an intense 674
curiosity or desire to posess something which they see belongs to a
sort of people so different from themselves, that if it were possible a
set of beings seemingly as superior in our judgment should appear
amongst us, I doubt much whether our natural regard to justice
would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error.
That this is their true motive for such a practice appears from their
stealing every thing indiscriminately at first before they are sensible
it can be of the smallest utility, but I believe with us no person would
risque his reputation or being punishd as the law requires without
knowing this before hand, though at the same time I will not venture
to say how far the curiosity that gives the first impulse with them may
be exchang'd for another motive after a certain time. The circum-
stances, though certainly both disagreeable and troublesome to
strangers, affords some information as to the quickness of their
intellects in devising a method and their address in concealing what
they steal, for their small thefts are commited with great dexterity
and those of greater consequence with a plan or scheme suited to their
importance. As an extraordinary instance of the last sort might be
mention'd an attempt which they made to carry away one of the
Discoverys anchors at mid-day when every body was at work about
the decks. They had plac'd a Canoe under the Bow where it lay &
had so far accomplish'd their purpose that it was actually unlash'd &
lower'd down untill part of the fluke hookd about the chains &
prevented its going farther.

The hair is in general straight, thick and strong though a few have 142
it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour I believe almost without
exception is black, but the greatest part of the men & some women 302
have it staind of a brown or purple colour and a few of an orange cast.
The first is done by applying a sort of plaster of burnt coral mixd with [142]
water and the second with the raspings of a reddish wood call'd [824]
[1] which is made up with water into a poultice and laid

---

[1] ? Koka, *Bischofia javanica*: the bark would be used.

302 over the hair. The other I believe is done in the same manner with
824 turmeric root. They are so exceeding whimsical in their method of
wearing it that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue, though the
302 greatest number perhaps are those that have it cropt short. Others
have it cut off one side of the head while the other is long, some with
only a piece cut out as far as the crown or perhaps shav'd that far,
and others have it entirely cut off except a single lock which is left
commonly on one side, or it is suffer'd to grow its full length without
any of these mutilations. The women except a few wear it short, but
the long hair is such an ornament to the last as well as the men who
wear it so that it is surprizing the practice is not general. Those who
wear it in that manner take uncommon pains in having it comb'd,
each small parcel being carefully seperated from the rest, and I have
seen a woman whose business it commonly is take an hour and a half
302 to dress a mans hair in that manner. The men have their beards cut
237 short which is done with two thin shells, one of them with the edge
broke into small notches being plac'd under the hair that is to be cut
off, and the back of the other press'd & drawn along the intercepted
part cuts it off very short. Both men & women have the arm pits
bar'd in the same manner, but when they cut their hair or shave it
304 very close the operation is perform'd with a sharks tooth. The men
are staind from about the middle of the belly to about half way down
[237] the thighs with a deep blue colour. This is done by what we might
[412] call puncturation or ingraining with a little flat bone instrument cut
full of fine teeth & fix'd in a handle. It is dipt into the staining mix-
[824] ture, which is prepard from the soot of the Dooedooe and struck into
the skin with a bit of stick untill the blood sometimes follows, and by
that means leaves such indelible marks that time cannot efface them.
They trace in this manner the various lines & figures that fancy
suggests which in some are very elegant either from their variety or
disposition, but as the practice is quite universal it does not appear
whether it is intended as an ornament, or merely a compliance with
one of those old customs for whose institution no satisfactory reason
can be given in after times. The women have none of this about their
bodys but often a few small lines or spots on the inside of their hands.
[751] The men are all circumcis'd or rather supercis'd, as the operation
consists in cutting off only a small piece of the foreskin at the upper
part, which by that means is render'd incapable ever after of
covering the glans, a circumstance which is all they aim at as they
[765] say it is practic'd merely from a notion of cleanliness. Besides the
marks remaining on the cheeks after performing the Tooge there are
great numbers who have concentric circles upon their arms call'd

Ko'ooma,[1] small black spots there and about the body call'd 304 ,[2] and in different parts longitudinal prominent scars 765 nam'd Taffa,[3] none of which are ornamental but marks that show they have mourn'd for their dead relations;[4] the two first of which are effected by fire, the other by incision, and seems to be done exactly in the same manner as those of the natives at Van Diemens land who probably do it on the same occasion.

Their common dress is a piece of cloth fasten'd about the middle 291 either by pushing the ends as they reach over within each other with a belt of the same cloth, or with a strong roundish plaited girdle [824] tapering at each end made from the Cocoa nut coir. It reaches to the ankle but sometimes scarcely so far, and they often leave as much above the fastening as will draw up & wrap round the body and shoulders when they find it necessary. The most usual next to that is [824] mats of various sorts fasten'd in the same manner, and over both are often tied a sort of sash made from the leaves of the Jeejee; but the [285] people of consequence are distinguish'd from the others by wearing their cloth plaited; and to make it a full dress, which is done on particular occasions as in their dances, Natche &c, they put over it a bit of matt only finish'd in the middle, with the long ends staind red. There is no distinction between the dress of the women and men and 301 their ornaments are also the same. The most common of these are [291] necklaces, made of the fruit of the Pandanus and various sweet smelling flowers which go under the general name of Ka'kulla,[5] others 301 made with small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, sharks teeth & 291 other things all of which hang loose upon the breast. In the same [824] manner they often wear a mother of pearl shell neatly polishd, a ring of the same substance carv'd on the upper part of the arm, rings of tortoise shell on the fingers, and a number of these join'd together as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though most frequently only one) are perforated with two holes in which they wear [304] [302]

---

[1] This is rather difficult: *ko uma* does not occur as a single word. *Uma* is shoulder; Anderson's informant probably gave him this word instead of that for a particular fashion of tattooing. 'Concentric circles on the arms and shoulders' was called 'Eetaee', says Labillardière, II, p. 405.

[2] 'Lafo', says Labillardière, ibid., 'Tattooing in the form of freakles on the face and part of the body'. Neither of these expressions for tattooing comes into any other word-list or dictionary I have seen.

[3] *tafa*, to cut in pieces, or generally to cut or lance.

[4] *none of which . . . relations*: Anderson seems to be quite wrong here. Signs of mourning might vary from singeing off the hair close to the scalp to quite savage self-infliction of wounds with clubs, stones, spears or knives; but tattooing does seem to have been purely ornamental. The 'longitudinal prominent scars', on the other hand, may have been those of mourning wounds.

[5] *kakala*, sweet-smelling flowers of any kind, or the trees and plants bearing them.

301 cylindrical bits of ivory[1] about three inches long, introduc'd at one
237 hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd
304 with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric,
with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same
302 manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing
seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to
515 procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to
serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of
them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they
are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity
obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut
302 shells of fresher water pourd over them to wash it off. They are
immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great
quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders
but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity,
and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to
conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to
[565 receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however
is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of
[246 people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more
frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see
them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think
that could not be done.

Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most
461 sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so
laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to
degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their
country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to
be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circumstances
is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to
their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never interrupted
by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till
462 satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the
women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done
462 in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is
wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts
285 seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or
eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and
[824 many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the
245 tough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they
[248 wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

---

[1] Whale tooth.

648 answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning
but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their
609 Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have
[836] no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his
[833] friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous &
ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who
wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we
759 had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone
far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit
[634] with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized
[302] at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason
of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his
assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the
Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is
the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and
venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by
his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes
of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the
grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language
Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity
to learn.

276 Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the
Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking
574 it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who
[565] sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards
[512] him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water
at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a
[415] servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews
it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in
making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into
Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these
Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which
every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

---

[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuavai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuavai*.

314 kept their Drums. The soil is rich & good & the Climate equal & fine
134 like most others situated in the same Latitude, where there is no cold
Weather & the Inhabitants are not oppressed with Heat.

132 The Chief Produce of the Island is Cocoa nuts, bread fruit, Plantains
& yams & Sugar Cane, all which the Country affords in great
241 Abundance, & there are some Shaddocks, but not near so many as at
231 Middleburg. Their Hogs are not so large as those of Otaheite nor so
numerous, tho' we found plenty to supply the Ships while we staid
[136] among them, there are but few Dogs & many Rats on the Island and
[177] large Batts. They were very fond of our Cats some of which they
stole, for which 2 or 3 of them were flogged on board the Discovery
[685] more than once. They have Variety of Birds some of which they used
[648] to bring on Sticks to the Ship to sell, such as Pigeons & a beautiful
small green & red Parrot and they have plenty of Poultry about their
Houses.

302 The Inhabitants of these delightful Isles are a handsome fine Race
of People; the Men are rather above the common size, strong &
[141] exceedingly well made, of a dark copper Complexion with black
[142] Hair naturally, I say naturally because they daub it over with a
Paste made of coral Powder which changes the Colour of it in different
places into yellow, so that it is of a mixed Colour yellow & black,
and this no doubt is the yellow Hair which Dalrymple takes notice
of as having been seen by Quiros & other former Navigators to the
South Seas, & which he supposes to be natural & therefore concludes
that they are a different race of Men from the other South Sea
Islanders who had not this custom among them, and therefore produces
it as an Argument for the existence of [a] Southern Continent
[171] & that these were some of the natives. This practice is not confined to
these people but common among other Islands in these Seas. They
304 tattaw or mark their Loins & Thighs in various Lines according to
their fancy, tho' there is an uniformity or standard to which they all
approach like the Otaheiteans in tattawing the Breech. Some of
302 them tattaw the Glans Penis. They all shave their beards, which is
done with 2 small shells with sharp edges one laid under the Hair
[237] while they cut the beard with the other, & by this means they perform
[412] the Operation with expedition & get the hair off tolerably
clean, tho' they always preferred our Razors when they could prevail
upon the Ship's Barber to trim them.

291 Their Dress consists of a piece of Cloth tyed round the middle
which descends as low as the Knee with sometimes a matt over it;
others wear what they call a Pooraw[1] which is a Substance between

---

[1] *pulou.*

our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are 291
brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also
various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which 292
they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all
round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than 301
use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they
also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave
way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both
men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to 565
distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth
round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the 291
women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England
tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress, [302]
they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, &
thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable
appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders,
but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the 302
Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason 763
both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many 304
of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost
one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump 752
with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone
Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones 304
are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & 765
majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are
friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People 181
and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. [516]
I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude
which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having 431
got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in
danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several
Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who
had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to
assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it &
was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the
boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon
his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service
he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much
pleased with the Offer.

[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them
somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female
softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who
from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we
saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at
Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm
291 with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of
Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of
[301] Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the
[237] Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class
[824] of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee
order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a
565 graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the
superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a
302 young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament,
[765] which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own
Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it
831 than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies
of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most
565 lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came
on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for
609 Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for
836 the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their
846 bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a
certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the
302 Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that
595 none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the
generality of the people having only one.

565 We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a
Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons &
143 appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can
hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough &
cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the
skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of
the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that
is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly
appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We
saw no Women of this Colour.

---

[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[853] [3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

SUNDAY JULY 6th. Struck the Tents & got every thing on board. 122
The Sheep given to Malawaggee being neglected and ill used by the
Natives Captn Cook took them on board again to day. While we lay 651
here a grand Festival was observed on shore called Annachee, held
on account of Powlohow's eldest Son arriving at a certain age (about 796
14 or 15). At this Festival which lasted three days, were present 644
Captn Cook & Clerke with Omai & some of the Officers of the
Resolution. It was held in the interior part of the Island where
Powlohow & the Principal Chiefs lived. Captain Cook & Omai were
permitted to assist at the Ceremony, which they did dressed in this [291
Country Habit with their Hair loose about their Shoulders & un- 302
covered from the waist upwards. Powlohow's Son was seated cross 123]
legged upon fine Matts & the principal Chiefs of the Island came in a
Procession & made him Presents of Cloth & other Manufactures
with all kind of Provisions, & Captain Cook & Omai who joined in
the procession gave him some Hatchets, Beads & other Things—
every thing was conducted with great Solemnity & it was death for
any of the Natives who were not concerned in the Ceremony to be
seen near the Place, & such of our Gentlemen who were Spectators
through a Hedge were not supposed to be there. We supposed that at
this Festival the Chiefs were swearing Fealty & doing Homage to the
next Heir to the Crown, & that by the Presents they laid at his feet,
that they acknowledged all their Property was in his Power & that
they only held it at his Pleasure. And they told us that in about a
Month's time another Festival was to be held in the same place on 651
the like Occasion, at which the Chiefs were to do him Homage and
acknowledge their Lives to be in his Hands, by each of them killing 796
a certain Number of their dependents in his Presence, & they said 644
that about 50 human Sacrifices would be offered up on the occasion; 782
Pheenow was to kill the greatest Number of any of the Chiefs, his
Quota being six, the rest were to slay some four, some 3 & others two [634]
& one according to their different Ranks. This horrid business was to
be performed by the Chiefs themselves who knock the Victims in the
Head with a Club. We asked them if those who were to be sacrificed
knew that they were to be the Victims; they told us not & that if they
did they would run away, but that they were always taken unawares.
Such is the Savage Custom of these People, & in such a deplorable
state of Servitude do the lower Rank of men live among them that
they hold their existence but at the will of their Masters.

THURSDAY JULY 10th. At 7 o'Clock this Morning got under sail with 122
the Wind at ESE; employed all day in turning to Windward, at

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

122 Sunset came to an anchor. We are bound for the Island of Middleburgh called by the Natives Oo-hā.[1]

FRIDAY JULY 11th. Weighed & sailed, turning to windward all the Afternoon, got throug[h] the Passage, & by midnight having weathered the Easternmost Part of Tongataboo, we stood to the ssw for Oo-hā.

SATURDAY JULY 12th. This forenoon we came to an anchor between the N & W Points of the Island Oohā or Middleburgh about
2 or 3 miles distant from the Shore. Many Canoes came round the
609 Ships. Captn Cook went ashore & a Market was opened for Provisions
648 on a Platt of Ground near the landing Place, the King of the Island
attended Captn Cook on board who sent him ashore with many
439 presents, & among the rest he gave him a Ram & a Yew, which he
set a greater Value upon than Malawagee had. Pheenow had pro-
634 posed to accompany us hither, but was prevented by the Death of
764 some old Woman of distinction whose funeral he was obliged to
302 attend, & on whose account he had the Hair of his Head cut off
according to the Custom among these Islands.

439 SUNDAY JULY 13th. Our Boats ashore trading for Provisions & some
Canoes about the Ships.

609

TUESDAY JULY 15th. Captain Cook, Omai & some other Gentlemen
439 went ashore & others to trade for Provisions. In the Place where the
Market was held an Indian was killed by some of his Countrymen; it
684 seems that his Crime was endeavouring to force one of the Agee
Girls, when it was so highly resented by her Friends that accidentally
seeing him among the Croud they fell upon him with Clubs & put
him to death; the Man threw himself for Protection among our
648 People but they could not save him. In the afternoon two of the
Resolutions people, walking in the Country, were stripped & beat
685 by the Indians, they came naked to our People at the Market place
who gave them something to throw over them. Captn Cook being ashore sent for a reinforcement of marines, which arriving soon after had such an Effect upon the Agee or Chiefs that not only the Clothes were returned but one of the Thieves was deliverd up, & he was carryed Prisoner on board the Resolution where the poor fellow expected to be put to Death. However he was ransomed next day for a large Hog.

142 Considering the small Distance between this Island and Tongataboo the difference between the Natives is remarkable, these being

---

[1] 'Eua.

175 Prince, there was an Entertainment of boxing and wrestling, which they
644 gave us to understand was the Conclusion of the business altogether.
The Purport of this Ceremony seems to me nothing more or less than
651 the Nobles paying their Allegiance to the Heir apparent of the Crown; the
Samples offer'd him, I imagine are purposed as Intimations of their future
Intentions of supplying him with those Matters, and if we understood them
right, after having receiv'd these Acknowledgements and promises of
future Services from all the Principals of the Nation, he was renderd
consequential enough to set at Table with his Father. Thus having seen
the Ceremony through we return'd to the Ships on the Evening of the 9th.

[782] This Ceremony in honour of the young Prince they call Anăche:[1] they
tell us there is to be another in two Months, which they say will be a very
superb one; in the Course of it, there are to be 10 Men sacrific'd before his
young Highness; now whether these are intended as sacrifices to their Gods
to implore their Protection and blessings for the young Gentleman or thro'
what other principal I cou'd not learn, and whether it may not be altogether
fabulous I cannot pretend to say; but it was told me so seriously by
many of them that I declare I firmly believe it; no one at all contradicted
it when question'd upon the Subject, but spoke as familiarly of it, as tho'
it was a matter fully settled and determin'd some time since.

175 These People in their persons surpass in beauty every Nation I ever yet
met with, excepting the Natives of the Marquesas which Isles we visited in
142 the course of our last Voyage; that perfect proportion of the Limbs which
is universal among them is admirable; there are few that exceed 6 Feet,
but then you scarcely ever see an undersiz'd Man, by which means I think
they generally run stouter than Europeans: there was not a single deform'd
Man seen, and among the many thousands we were at different times
associated with, we saw exceeding few Exceptions to that exact Symmetry
and proportion in which they seem so peculiarly bless'd.

The Agee's are some of them rather overloaded with flesh, but all the
[146] rest were in fine Order, and there were none so poor, but their Countenances
bespoke both a plentifull and salutary Diet. The Women are as
175 perfectly form'd as the Men, they are in general handsome but I think
142 somewhat masculine; Chastity is by no means the reigning Virtue of these
Isles, the good Lasses readily contributed their Share to our Entertainment,
831 and render'd our Bill of Fare compleat, but I am very sorry to have
164 Occasion to observe that at our arrival this time, we found them cursed
with Venereal Taints; this of all the Curses that coud befall them is the
worst; where connexions between the Sexes are so unlimited as they are
here, it is indeed a heavy misfortune.

Their Hair is strong, and in general originally black, but they have a
175 method of dressing it with a compound of Lime & some other Materials
302 which changes it to half a dozen different colours, so that you shall see on
[142] the same head, hair of various hues, nay the same hair from its root to its
Point will be of 2 or 3 distinct colours. I saw among the young Nobility

---

[1] *inasi.*

some few with as fine brown hair, as ever I met with. The people of distinction
in general wear their Hair rather long, those of inferior rank quite 175
short; some of the Women of Fashion let it grow & hang in ringlets below 302
their Waist. These people cut their Hair & shave with Sharks Teeth, [237]
which answer those purposes amazingly well. They are exceedingly neat
& cleanly in their Persons, both Men & Women bathe as soon as they rise [515]
in the Morning, and are then rub'd over with Oil which has a most agreeable
perfume; this perfume has a pleasing effect if at any time you get
umbled among a multitude of them, which was frequently the Case.

Their police[1] I never cou'd clearly understand; now tho' Powlahow is 175
King here to all intents & purposes, still there's a family consisting of a
Mother, 2 Daughters & a Son, who, tho' of no consequence in the State, 644
Powlahow cannot eat or drink before, & in many Cases does them Homage; [649]
the Mother was Powlahow's Fathers Sister, of course his Aunt, & these
Daughters & Son his Cousins.[2] We had the Son & one of the Daughters
frequently with us; they are not even Principals of any districts, nor seemingly
have any thing at all to do with government, but live a strange
lawless Life, going where they please & doing what they please. It is not 175
unusual here, if any Gentleman sees a Servant carrying Plantains, Yams
or whatever may be, to call him & demand whose property that is, & upon 422
being made acquainted, if he happens to be a Man of less consequence
than himself, he will without any hesitation take any part he pleases, or 565
probably the whole, & send the poor Fellow away about his Business.
This Cousin of Powlahow's, whose Name is Latūla-boolu,[3] one day was by 175
our Tent & saw 2 fellows passing, loaded with ripe Plantains, he call'd
to them & demanded where they were going, they answerd, to Powlahow, 422
upon which he order'd them to bring the Plantains to him, this they not
very readily obeying, he sent two of his retinue who beat them confoundedly 644
& made the poor fellows bring the Plantains & beg to be excused
farther Punishment; these he wanted to sell but cou'd not find a
purchaser, he then eat as many as he cou'd, gave to some Gentlemen there
as many as they wou'd have & very civilly order'd Powlahows Men to
take the rest to his Master. As to the lower Class of People they certainly 175
can have no redress for the grievances inflicted by the Agee's, be they
whatever they may; this I conclude from Transactions which happen'd 565
immediately before us, for I think it is a very fair inference, if they may
knock their Brains out at their Pleasure, they may certainly do any thing
else they shou'd chance to take in their Heads. One day while we were 175
laying at Anamooka, an Agee orderd the People to retire from our Market
Place, where we were trading for Hogs, Yams &c; they directly moved off, 689
but not being so quick in their Motions as the Agee thought they shou'd, 439
he took up a confounded large Stick, and beat without mercy who ever he 565

---

[1] Principles of 'public administration'.

[2] Clerke seems to be speaking of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala, the female Tu'i Tonga, and her children the *Tamaha*; the eldest daughter was Maoungalakepa, the son was Latunipulu. Cf. Cook, p. 136, n. 2 above.

[3] Latunipulu.

the time that their entertainments were exhibit'd there might be not short 175
of 12,000 people, who built temporary huts or slept under the trees about 161
the tent; at the Ceremony at Moa[1] we suppose not less than 600 chiefs 162
were assembled, but from these bodies I see no good conclusion to be 609
drawn of the number in either all, or any one of them. From the Nature of
the Country, requiring the labour & industry of the Natives for their 361
support, it cannot be near so populous in proportion to their size as what 311
the Society Islands are; the houses here are by no means thickly scatterd 134
about & many parts in all the Islands are uncultivat'd, owing to the 133
Sandiness & poverty of the Soil in low Islands, & in the high ones to their
elevatd & expos'd situation; besides the larger low Islands have extensive
lagoons & lakes as at Tonga & Anamooka, which considerably lessens the
surface, leaving therefore their population to be gatherd from the nature of
the Country. We will proceed to their Colour, form, & Natural dispositions.

The Friendly Islanders are of a lively brown Colour & a shade darker 142
than Omai. Although many of their principal women were fairer, their
colour resembles that of the Mallays we saw at the Cape of Good hope;
they are in general above the middle size, many very tall men & but a few
under sizd, they are firmly & compactly made about the joints, broad
shoulderd & Muscular, & perhaps few natives exceed them in that form,
which requires both strenght & agility; this is even to be observ'd in their
walking but abundantly shewn in their athletick exercises & dances: their 302
hair I believe is universally black or a dark brown when young, but they 765
have a method of colouring it which deceives one at first; it is not unusual
to see two diff^{t} colours on the same head, & perhaps one purple; a sort of 175
chalky paste which they very often daub upon their heads turns the hair a
yellow sandy colour; they are still more various in their fashion of wearing
it, being cut short on some parts & others left long, yet as they seem to
admire fine long hair, we rather suppose that when it is even partially cut,
& we know it to be the case when all short, that it is in memory of some
deceas'd friend. There are but few who have beards, but shave very 142
dextrously with 2 shells, laying one under the hair & the sharp point of the 302
one above meeting that of the one below, cuts it close off. The Chiefs have 175
glossy smooth skins preservd so by frequent washing; & as fresh water is 565
scarce, they after bathing in salt water throw over them a few coco nut 515
shells of fresh, which takes the salt which otherwise adheres to the skin, & 312
which gives a disagreeable roughness to that of the common people, &
afterwards rub over their bodies Coco nut Oile perfectly sweet & free from
any disagreeable smell. There are nevertheless many cutanious marks 175
from disorders & from voluntary inflictions; more than half of them are 164
affect'd with the tetter or ringworm, which leaves behind a whitish mark; 765
boils & blotches are often met with, & inflam'd sore Eyes are frequent; few
are free from marks on the Cheek bone, which they make by quick repeating strokes with the knuckles on the death of their friends or relations,
besides these there are many other disfiguring marks inflict'd on the same

[1] Mu'a.

[423 cont.]

175 running along the shore. The hills which were low, and not so high
175 above the level of the sea as the Isle of Wight, were agreeably
133 adorned with small clumps of trees scattered at some distance, and
137 the intermediate ground appeared covered with herbage, like many
175 parts of England. It was not long before we perceived some of the
609 inhabitants busied in launching several canoes, and paddling
175 towards us. We threw a rope into one of these canoes which ran up
609 close to us, and one of the three people in her came on board, and
431 201 presented a root of the intoxicating pepper-tree of the South Sea
Islands, touched our noses with his like the New Zeelanders, in
sign of friendship, and then sat down on the deck without speaking
a word. The captain presented him with a nail, upon which he
immediately held it over his own head, and pronounced fagafetai,
175 which was probably an expression of thanksgiving. He was naked
291 to the waist, but from thence to the knees he had a piece of cloth
wrapped about him, which seemed to be manufactured much like that of
Taheitee, but was covered with a brown colour, and a strong glue,
175 which made it stiff and fit to resist the wet. His stature was
142 middle-sized, and his lineaments were mild and tolerably regular.
175 His colour was much like that [424] of the common Taheitians (9),
that is, of a clear mahogany or chesnut brown; his beard was cut
short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short frizzled curls,
burnt as it were at the tips.

---

142 302 [028] 9. As I shall frequently mention the inhabitants of Taheitee, and of the Society Islands, in comparison with other islanders, it will be proper to observe, that since the natives both of Taheitee and of the Society Islands, are perfectly alike in most respects, I shall indifferently call a custom Taheitian, or usual at the Society Islands, which is common to them both. Therefore, unless I expresly put these terms in contradistinction to each other, I wish to have them understood in general as synonymous.

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will [A] admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight
by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though
all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

175 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who
123 invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
175
311 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into
a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a
very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green,
which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in
England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most
elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner
of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright,
and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of
a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and
covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

175 [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a
533 considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two
[609]
[123] or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceed-
[171] ingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical
when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by
snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

[A] [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account—Analyst.]

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171 [181] But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[433] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[23] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[262] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[291] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[351] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] [237] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and

175 [432 cont.]

142 the beard shaven or rather clipt by means of a couple of sharp muscle
302
237 shells, (mytili.) The women were, in general, a few inches shorter
175 than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Taheitee
141 and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely [433] proportioned down
175 to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate
142 as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features, though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals there, especially of the principal families, to which none of these could be compared. The complexion of both sexes here was the same, a light chesnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect
175 health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately
565 distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this
[142] island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us
[171] to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his
175 orders that we concluded his quality. The custom of puncturing the
304 skin and blacking it, was in full force among the men, and their belly
[171] and loins were very strongly marked in configurations more compounded than those of the Taheitians. The tenderest parts of the body were not free from these punctures, the application of which, besides being very painful, must be extremely dangerous on glandulous extremities, and justly excited our astonishment.

______ et picta pandit spectacula cauda! HOR.

[462]

175 together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in
501 the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind
[171] of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes (16).

16. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

[532] Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails,
which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure
175 of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented (17). As a

501
114

17. The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17,18.

farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage.
175 I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good
501 construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these
171 islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the
Society Isles.

175 Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we
302 observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were
[231] strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this
powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which
had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height [463]
in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder,
and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of
175 turmerick. St. Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age,
302 very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies:
171 "Ne irrufet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennae!" Thus, by an

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion,
are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives
of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening,
having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island.
At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252 354 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
175 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
609 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
171 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
252 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
175 our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
431 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
439 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
201 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.[A] Our goods tempted them at least as much

[A] [6 October--Analyst.]

[472 cont.]

175 before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend
123 [648] joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was
something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow,
our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him
with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling
about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned
to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the
175 people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different
571 little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and
[517] consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in
conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished
the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with
175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular,
142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling
302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what
was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in
175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her
524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples,
perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another
continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity,
175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed
533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different
184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes
175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives
535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list
292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts
124 439 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

[475 cont.]

175 171 only drink of the salutary element, but likewise bathe so frequently
312 in it that no impurity can long adhere to their skin. It is very
different with a people who are absolutely denied this blessing,
and who must either content themselves with putrid stagnant rain-
175 water in a few dirty pools, or go entirely without it. They are
515 obliged to have recourse to expedients in order to preserve a
certain degree of cleanliness, which may preclude various distempers.
175 They therefore cut off their hair, and shave or clip their beards,
302 171 which doubtless makes them look more unlike the Taheitians than they
175 would otherwise do. Still these precautions are not sufficient,
312 especially as they have no fluid for drinking in any quantity. The
175 body is therefore very subject to leprous complaints, which are
164 perhaps irritated by the use of the pepper-root water or awa.
175 Hence also that burning or blistering on the cheek-bones which
304 we observed to be so general among this tribe, that hardly an
individual was free from it, and which can only be used as a remedy
000 against some disorders. The soil of the Society Isles in the plains
and vallies is rich, and the rivulets which intersect it, supply
175 abundance of moisture. All sorts of vegetables therefore thrive
171 with great luxuriance upon it, and require little attendance or
433 cultivation. This [476] profusion is become the source of that
great luxury among the chiefs which we do not meet with at Tonga-
175 Tabboo. There the coral rock is covered only with a thin bed of
433 mould, which sparingly affords nourishment to all sorts of trees;
134 and the most useful of all, the bread-fruit tree, thrives imperfectly
312 on the island, as it is destitute of water, except when a genial
000 shower happens to impregnate and fertilize the ground. The labour

[479 cont.]

000 175 smile as he conversed with Attagha. Among the croud, we observed
302 a single man, who differed from all the rest, by having suffered
184 his hair to grow, and having twisted it into several round bunches,
which hung wildly about his ears. This man, and the young girl
mentioned page 468.[A] were the only persons we met with, who had
[480] not conformed to the general custom of cutting off the hair.

175 After a short conversation with the natives, of whom we bought
439 a variety of their tools, on account of their elegant carving, we
returned on board to breakfast, and immediately after weighed the
175 anchors and set sail. The provisions lying in confused heaps on
the decks, prevented our going into the open sea immediately. We
therefore kept standing off and on, under shelter of this island,
and did not take our departure till towards evening, when we shaped
our course southerly.

The next morning [October 8], the weather being nearly calm,
we caught a shark, eight feet long, consequently bigger than any
175 we had seen before. In the afternoon we saw the little isle which
101 Tasman calls Pylstaerts Island. This name refers to the birds,
175 which the Dutch navigators observed there, and which in all proba-
136 bility were tropic birds. Pylstaert literally signifying arrow-tail,
alludes to the two long feathers in the tail of this bird, from whence
175 its French name of *paille-en-queue* is likewise derived (26). Its
175 latitude is 22° 26' S. and its longitude 170° 59' W. A contrary S.
W. wind which sprung up towards evening, obliged us to cruize about
till the 10th in the morning, when we came [481] in sight of this
[133] little islet again. It is of a moderate height, and has two hummocks,

131 26. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. p 75.
where they are called *wild ducks*.

[A] [See p. 55 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

[188 cont.]
554 descend even to servility in their obeisance to their king. At Namoka
175 we could not distinguish any persons of superior rank or authority,
unless we except the man, whom our sailors called a Custom-house officer,
302 and who inspected all [189] the canoes which came to the ship. The
554 woman who sent for the stolen things, appeared also to have some sway
175 among them; and since there is reason to suppose, that women whose
hair are allowed to grow long, have some prerogatives above the rest
in the South Sea (7). Mr. Patton's friendly benefactress seems to
have been a lady of a superior class, which her whole deportment confirmed. She was the only woman with long hair whom we saw on the island.
642 I am far from concluding that the people of Namoka have no fixed
175 government; on the contary, their vicinity and similarity to other
islanders, amongst whom a monarchical government takes place, and the
example of all the other islanders of the South Sea which former navigators have examined, give the greatest room to suppose the same
184 existing there. The general coincidence of their manners with those
764 of Tonga-Tabboo, strongly prove that they have the same origin, and
175 probably the same religious notions; but not withstanding this
agreement, I never found a fayetooka or burying-place, during my rambles
upon Namoka, nor did any one of our shipmates meet with a place in
any wise resembling the burying-places which we found at Tonga-Tabboo.

101 It appears, from the accounts of former voyagers, that between
175 the meridians of 170° east from Greenwich, and [190] 180°, there is
a great number of islands, from the 10th to the 22nd degree of latitude,
all which, as far as they are known, seem to be inhabited by one race
of people, who speak the same dialect of the South Sea tongue,

---

7. See vol. I. p. 327.

137 about 4 mm. long, rough with numerous sharp points, narrowly elliptic, acute, in a purplish, erect panicle up to 20 cm. or more long, panicle branches slender, whorled, erect to spreading.

Tongatapu: in sandy soil near beach east of Nuku'alofa, Mar. 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15216.*

'Eua: in village of Pangai, Apr. 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15660.*

Lifuka: margin of plantation along coastal road north of Pangai, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15728.*

Occasional throughout Tonga. Introduced into cultivation in America.

Tongan name: *ahisiaina.*

[824] The roots are used for scenting oil.

[302]

Genus **Lepturus** R. Brown

Lepturus repens R. Brown, Prodr. Fl. Nov. Hollandiae, 207, 1810.

Caespitose, freely branching, leafy, glabrous grass, culms creeping at base, ascending upward. Blades linear, acuminate, up to 20 cm. or more long but mostly shorter, and 4-8 mm. wide, narrowing to junction with sheath, more or less scabrous. Spikelets single, alternate, subsessile, in an internodal cavity, in slender, cylindrical spikes up to 15 cm. long and 1-2 mm. in diameter.

Tongatapu: in thin sandy soil on limestone bluff near Blow Hole area below Houma, June 1, 1953, *Yuncker 16223.*

'Eua: in sandy soil just above high-tide line near Ha'aluma, April 1, 1953, *Yuncker 15598.*

Lifuka: in sand just above high-tide limit, along beach on west coast north of Pangai village, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15721.*

Frequent along the strand. Australia and Malaysia to Polynesia.

Genus **Sporobolus** R. Brown

Sporobolus indicus (Linnaeus) R. Brown, Prodr. Fl. Nov. Hollandiae, 170, 1810.

Rather densely tufted grass with slender, glabrous stems. Blades linear, acuminate, up to 15 cm. or more long and 2-3 mm. wide. Spikelets about 1-1.5 mm. long, numerous in erect, spikelike, narrow panicles up to 30 cm. or more long, branches filiform, ascending to spreading.

Tongatapu: roadside near Nualei, Oct. 29, 1951, *Hürlimann 29.*

'Eua: in grazing area, near Ohonua village, Apr. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15622.*

Niuafo'ou: in open thicket, upper rim of main crater, May 16, 1953, *Yuncker 15991.*

Niuatoputapu: in grassy area in Hihifo, Dec. 5, 1951, *Hürlimann 327;* roadside south of Matavai toward coast, Jan. 2, 1951, *Hürlimann 647.*

Occasional. India, China, Malaya, Philippines, Fiji and tropical America.

Tongan name: *fisihina.*

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Genus **Citrus** Linnaeus

137 **Citrus maxima** (Burmann) Merrill, Interpret. Herb. Amboin., 296, 1917.

Tree up to 10 m. tall, branches spiny, twigs compressed, green. Leaves elliptic or ovate-oblong, entire, apex retuse, up to 10-12 cm. long, the petioles obovate-winged. Flowers white, fragrant, several, in short, axillary racemes; the fruit up to 15 cm. or more in diameter, the rind thick, the pulp yellow or reddish, rather dry, scarcely edible.

Occasional in forests and thickets throughout Tonga. Not seen in cultivation.

C. decumana L. of Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *moli tonga.*

[245] [824] [302] Oranges (*moli kai*), limes (*laime*), citrons, mandarins (*moli peli*), kumquats, grapefruit (*moli kalepi*), and lemons (*lemani*) are cultivated. Lemons are often found growing naturally. A number of large fruiting trees occur in the forest above Fuai plantation on the island of 'Eua. *Moli uku*, a form producing inedible fruit sometimes used for washing hair, was reported but not seen.

FAMILY SIMAROUBACEAE

Genus **Suriana** Plumier

Suriana maritima Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 284, 1753.

Shrub or small tree up to 3 m. or more tall, the younger parts and leaves finely pubescent. Leaves alternate but closely spaced, simple, linear-spatulate, very shortly acutish, gradually narrowed to short petiole, up to about 3 cm. long and 3-5 mm. wide. Flowers yellow, in subterminal, racemose clusters, petals about 8 mm. long; capsule five-parted, pubescent.

Tongatapu: forming thicket near beach below Fu'amotu village, Mar. 4, 1953, *Yuncker 15193.*

'Eua: in sandy soil just above high-tide limit, Ha'aluma, Apr. 1, 1953. *Yuncker 15594.*

Lifuka: *Harvey;* in thin soil on rocky cliff along northern end of island, May 11, 1953, *Yuncker 15982.*

Islets near Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Niuatoputapu: on coral sand, coast south of Matavai, Dec. 26, 1951. *Hürlimann 628.*

Common in strand thickets on most of the islands of Tonga. Pantropic.

Tongan name: *ngingie.*

FAMILY BURSERACEAE

Genus **Canarium** Linnaeus

Canarium harveyi Seemann, Fl. Vit., 35, 1865.

Tree up to 12 m. or more tall. Leaves alternate, pinnate, leaflets oval-oblong or ovate, entire, somewhat glossy, acuminate, base rounded, obtuse, up to 15 cm. long, pinnately

[1853]

Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting 797
with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship
with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m., 796
Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service. 794
Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a
worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local
preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family
prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of
European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed 797
Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church [368]
members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours'
examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard [793]
Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. [794]
Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers [877]
in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from 797
London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, 872
worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been [302]
sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"!
Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English
astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision
that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high 797
water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success
manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries
and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few
years.

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S. 113

(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.

(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.

(4) West, ibid, p.212.

(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.

(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.

(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.

(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.

(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.

(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.168; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 385.

(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.

(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.

(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.

(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.

(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.

(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.

(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.

(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.

(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.

(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.

(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.

(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.

(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961 OU9 Tonga OU9

Langa Fonua In The Kingdom Of Tonga

462
575
142
241
302

Recently the Commission's[1] *women's interests officer spent six weeks in Tonga helping to conduct courses for women leaders from villages scattered throughout the Kingdom. As she reveals in this article, during her stay there she was deeply impressed by the work of the Langa Fonua, a women's organization dedicated to the progress of home and community.*

By MARJORIE STEWART

LANGA FONUA

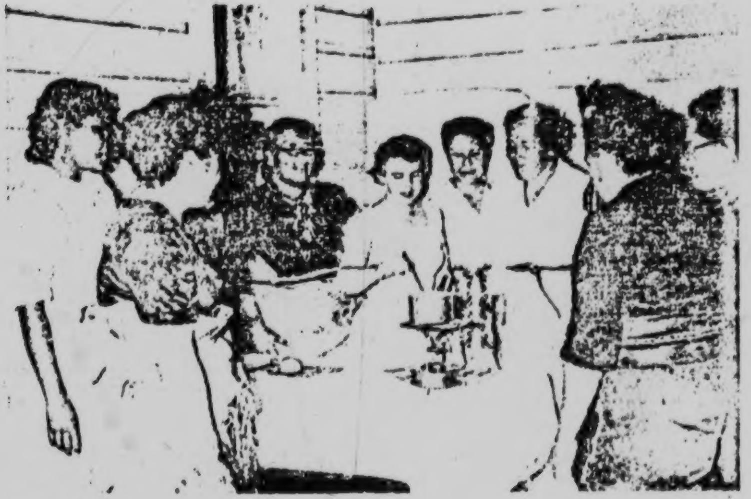
Members taking the second course, photographed in front of Langa Fonua House.

[P 26-A]

---

[1] /The South Pacific Commission - an advisory and consultative international body -- Analyst/

462
575
873
291
302 ●
177



[P.27-D]

Miss June Summerton giving a cooking demonstration.

/44 cont./

515 equipment. In times of drought (often October to December) the
[132] supply of rain water is sometimes so scarce that people
temporarily forego the daily thorough bathing.

515 /45/ Although in the schools, in the subject of hygiene, there
302 is general instruction in tooth brushing, and European toothbrushes
are easily obtainable, only very few Tongans have so far used them.
However, fingernails and toenails are cut quite short so that there
[412] is almost no rim and the nail surface is often circular. Nails
are mostly cut with the large bush knife. Ancient Tongan cutting
[198] tools (shells, bamboo) are no longer used. For shaving, the two
302 shells, the pumice and the shark's tooth (100)
177
(113)
have long since been replaced by razor blades which can be bought on
most of the islands. However, not all Tongans own a safety razor.
Many shave simply with the blade held in their hand, which is more
a scraping than a cutting, and is reminiscent of the pumice stone.
Even in the smallest village a great many natives are generally
neatly shaved, some have a stubble varying in length (101)
302 and a few wear more or less well cared-for full beards. This state
565 of affairs seems in general to resemble the pre-European era, though
the commoners in olden times probably groomed themselves less carefully than the nobles. (102)

100. Cf. J. Cook, *Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit.* VI. p. 181; J.J. Labillardiere, *Relation du voyage a la recherche de La Perouse* /Account of the voyage in search of La Perouse/ vol. II. Paris 1800. p/120; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, *Australien* /Australia/. loc. cit. vol. I, part 2. p. 640; J. Martin, *An account*... /cited in English/. *loc. cit.* II. p. 282.

101. On Sundays, however, even the latter are almost always smoothly shaved.

302
177
113
102. Cf. W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*... /cited in English/. *loc. cit.* I p. 92; if the

/45 cont./

302
177
[113]

statement of Meinicke (C.E. Meinicke, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans /The islands of the Pacific/, part II. Leipzig 1876. p. 75) is correct, there was a common beard style in Tonga in the second half of the 19th century, probably in imitation of the European example.

As a result of the presence of American troops on the main island, the short moustache became popular among many younger, eagerly imitative Tongans, but now it gradually seems to be "going out of fashion."

Although European perfumes and scented skin creams are today available on almost all islands of the Archipelago, and younger Tongan women in particular like to buy them, the ancient Tongan fragrant oil (lolo Tonga) is still laboriously prepared in all villages and is extensively used by almost all natives of both sexes. This Tongan oil has been able to maintain its place (103) thus well because, aside from the work involved, it costs nothing compared with the relatively expensive European products, and secondly, because Tongan noses are probably much too accustomed to the typical scent of the lolo Tonga which pervades the atmosphere of humans and dwellings. Nobles and commoners alike use it, and it may be assumed that production and use have even increased compared with the past. (104)

[565]

103. Cf. J. Cood, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ loc. cit. II. p. 93; J. Martin, An account.../cited in English/. loc. cit. II p. 346; S.S. Farmer, Tonga... loc. cit. p. 143.

104. Cf. J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 281.

303

/46/ We give here the process of production of Tongan oil:

The inner part of the tui tui (fruit of Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and the (fragrant) leaves (or blossoms) of the shrubs moengalo (Melastoma denticulatum), nukonuka (Decaspermum fruticosum),

303 /46 cont./
184
[643]

> instead of the blossoms and leaves mentioned (cf. J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 346.

302 The lolo Tonga is used day after day by men, women and children for the body and for the hair (especially after washing). There are few Tongans who reject the native oil because it "soils" the clothing (white shirts, for instance). Undoubtedly this oil has a beneficial effect on the skin, and it helps the natives very much to keep their thick, mostly curly or wavy hair in order.

Hair Style

[177] Hair styles have changed as a result of European influences. Only a few aged men in the Archipelago wear the hair style that is commonly regarded as that of ancient Tonga: their hair is cut short at the sides, but not on top where it is combed back. The male population today wears a truly short haircut that can be /47/ arranged in two principal ways. In one case, they cut the hair short at the temples and at the back of the head, and take away enough of the top length so that when the hair is combed back it is loose (that is, wavy or curly). This hair style is worn by the younger natives, in their twenties or thirties. In the second instance, they cut the hair short at the temples and the back of the head, and cut the top part rather short, so that when it is combed back it makes a sort of "crew cut." This haircut worn chiefly by older men is said by [177] various Tongans to have been copied some time ago from ("civilized") natives of Niue. (106)

106. However, even G. Forster already mentions, for 'Eua, short-cut hair that stands up "like bristles" (G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325).

[565] [184] Other ancient hair styles, as for example malu malu, the hair hanging down over the forehead, a style worn by renowned warriors, (107)

/47 cont./

302

107. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 205.

[565] [184] are no longer seen, and even the nobles do not differ from the common people in their hair style.

[177] People cut each other's hair using a comb (European plastic comb) and scissors. Many natives, without special training, are so adept at this that they achieve a perfect cut even outdoors in a stiff breeze. (108)

108. There are even Tongans who cut their own hair in front of a mirror!

[237] [178] The old Tongan custom of treating the hair with coral lime (lahe)(109)

109. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 279; burnt coral lime mixed with water.

was still generally practiced at the end of the last century, (110)

[113]

110. For example, B.F.S. Baden-Powell, In savage isles and settled lands /cited in English/. London 1892. p. 319.

but has become so "unfashionable" today that one seldom meets an aged native who limes his hair. Instead, Tongan oil is commonly used, occasionally also European pomade. [177]

302 178 As in olden times, young people's hair is cut shorter than that of adults; often, as a matter of expediency, it is entirely cut off. However, "shaving" the head, (111)

[113]

111. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282; O.W. Brierly, "Brief geographical sketch of the Friendly Islands" /cited in English/, in: The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. vol. XXII. London 1852. p. 102.

or letting individual tufts of hair stand, (112)

112. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325.

/47 cont./

302 178 can no longer be observed.

302 177 Just as some younger Tongan males have copied certain fashionable haircuts from whites (trimmed short all around, sideburns, etc.), the variety of hair styles of Tongan women must also be regarded as copies of European models which the women come across in magazines and newspapers on the small islands and see in the movies and on some white women on Tongatapu and Vava'u. As a result of the "liberation" [565] of the commoners, long hair /48/ is not any more the prerogative of the daughters of chiefs, (113)

113. Cf. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 129.

and short hair is no longer seen. (114)

114. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... /Picturesque voyage/. loc. cit. II. p. 79.

302 Tongan women wear a knot at the back of the head, topknots, braids (two to four), braided knots, rolls or semi-long hair (a mop of curly hair). The younger women "try out" all kinds of hair styles and enjoy changing them (for instance, in the course of a conversation they will tie up their loosely hanging hair into a top knot), whereas older women prefer the plain knot at the back of the head. Today (177) most people comb their hair with a European colored plastic comb which they sometimes also fasten into their hair as an ornament. The [412) old combs artistically fashioned of small rods and coconut fibers have not been made for a long time, and even the carved wooden combs that were made until recently on the Niuas, have been almost entirely replaced by the cheap and colorful synthetic products. The (177) coiffures are mostly knotted and held in place by themselves; occasionally, European hairpins are also used. No Tongan woman nowadays uses coral lime for her hair; almost all of them prefer the

/48 cont./

302 Tongan oil for dressing their hair.

Small girls sometimes wear a very short haircut like boys, so that they are often scarcely distinguishable from them; more often, however, their hair is left to grow long and is then cut so that it does not reach below the shoulders. The latter style is probably in contrast to ancient Tongan customs.

302 178 Summarizing, one may say that the modern hair style of Tongan men, and especially of Tongan women, shows an outright, joyful imitation of the new, along with a rather lighthearted renunciation of the old.

c) Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing and Circumcision

Clothing

291 [177] European textiles and articles of clothing have been, and still are, an important influence in Tonga.

291 554 In former times, the men were either "almost entirely naked," (115)

115. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; V. p. 138.

that is, because of their inferior status or for their work they wore only a loincloth of tapa (116)

[287] 116. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; the tapa was and is made of the bast layer on the inner side of the bark of *Broussonetia papyrifera*. For details see p. 216 ff.

or a leaf apron; (117)

117. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; S. S Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands.../cited in English/. loc, cit. p. 144.

or, if they were privileged persons or were taking part in a festival, /49/ they wrapped themselves in a *vala*, that is, a rectangular piece of tapa slung about one and half times around the hips. (118)

/78 cont./

585 (up to 20 or 30 if they go by boat) accompany the couple. Meanwhile
(602) (or on the following day) the parents (especially the father) of the
(252) bridegroom (also sometimes the bride's parents) along with the rest
(593) of the relatives make a huge earth oven with large pigs, yams, taro
etc.

(602) After the civil marriage the couple, again accompanied by their
(565) relatives, go to church. The wedding celebrations of all classes and
(184) religious faiths of Tonga are similar, only the church wedding
ceremony, of course, differs among the individual denomination.

585 The bride is then again escorted to her paternal home in order
292 to dress for the actual wedding celebration which now begins. The
bridegroom too goes to his place for this purpose. Their festive
garments are more or less elaborate, according to their means. A
very well-to-do bride, for example, is wrapped in a finely plaited,
soft fihu-mat several meters long, which covers her body from breasts
to knees (so that only the brassiere straps are visible). Over this
are wrapped several (up to about ten) fine Samoa mats or kie Tonga, so
that the bride can move only with her arms held almost horizontally.
(302) Her body is lavishly rubbed with Tonga oil; she wears a flower or
(301) a ribbon in her hair and perhaps also sisi kakala around her shoulders
and waist. The bridegroom is dressed like the bride. Sometimes, in
addition, he wears a (silk) shirt. Both of them are barefoot and
without a head covering. Such wedding garb is what is aspired to,
but not always achieved. Because of little domestic diligence (in
part the loss of ancient skills) or a certain "poverty" resulting
from special circumstances, there are simpler wedding garments
(fewer and coarser mats), which in extreme cases may consist of only
one mat and one tapa vala (worn by the girl with her blouse or dress,
by the man with his shirt and possibly with the cloth vala). A

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant
relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that
[533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and
[177] plays a European "funeral march."

764 As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the
765 deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers
302 and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among
all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/
[178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other
764 formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the
765 body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore,
304 and the wounding of the head (246)

178 246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

764 has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of
765 a child (248)
782

177 248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

643 and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764 If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the
794 priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is
borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/232 cont./

505 passengers go to sleep crowded together on or below (610)

484 610. Here dignitaries (chiefs, pastors) and
(554) older Tongans usually rest.

the small deck while the crew take turns at the wheel. They watch
505 the compass with the help of a lantern or flashlight, observe the
502 wind and the current and possibly certain bright stars. When reefs
484 are passed one man will often stand in the bow and correct the
course; within range of one of the few navigation lights of the
Archipelago a native may also climb the small mast to determine the
505 course from there. In the morning, at sunrise, a devotional service
484 is held. The passengers, two of whom have become seasick (!) then
get ready for the landing. The women, in particular, comb and oil
[302] their hair, delouse each other and tie up their hairdos. Around
[515] eight o'clock the boat docks at Ma'ofanga (near Nuku'alofa); the
passengers disembark and the crew follows after the freight has been
unloaded and packed onto a truck.

On December 4th, around 18 o'clock, the "Leiola" then sailed back to Nomuka and Mango with the same crew, four passengers and a load of six barrels of cement and a few cases of soap.

505 While the sailboats described are used for "long-distance
501 traffic" wihtin the Archipelago, (611)

611. The two auxiliary ketches as well as a few sailboats equipped with auxiliary motors belonging to the Tongan churches sometimes travel even to Fiji.

the simple little outrigger, the popao, is the typical conveyance of
501 short-distance traffic. This dugout with outrigger equipment is the
178 only watercraft of ancient Tongan style which is still made in rather
large numbers. The complicated and slightly larger outrigger of the
/233/ tafa'anga type, the boat body of which is made of planks that
are lashed with coconut fiber cords and sealed with resin, (612)

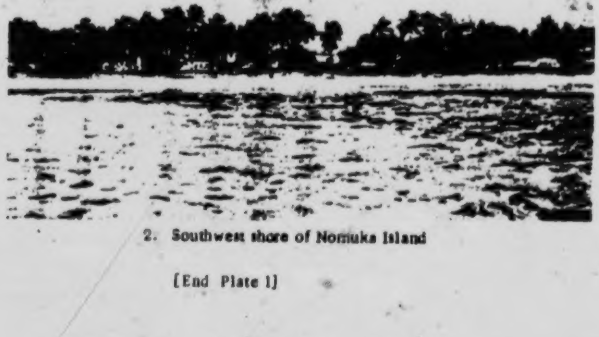
000 /305 cont./
T F especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies
515 177 there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European
T F influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.
302 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the
177 Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion,
T F and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing
291 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very
177 much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far
more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of
adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes;
the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the
T F Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji
304 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in
178 "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is
apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga,
is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it
a deeper significance.

T F In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in
581 Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis
177 as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception
797 of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago
T F under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas
593 604 the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"
178 survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more
T F drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have
601 T F kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages
585 849 764 177 178 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show

142
302

1. Young Tongan /male/

133



2. Southwest shore of Nomuka Island

[End Plate 1]

142
291
411

3. Tongan /male/ in everyday clothes

142
291
● 302
301
276
412

4. Pounding the kava root

[End Plate 2]

125
146 children showed symptoms of night blindness. Bitot spots, xerosis, xerophthalmia and keratomalacia were also noted.

4. Hair changes. Principally, dyspigmentation of hair color from the characteristic black to a reddish brown was noted. [302] However, the possible use of domestic or imported dye (frequently perceived as a status item) lessened the reliability of these observations. None the less, microscopic examination of hair samples verified that changes in pigmentation were greater within the urban sample.

5. Muscle wasting. This condition was noted in only one case in the total sample. Given the high caloric and starch diet of the Tongan, it is reasonable that such cases are rare.

125 6. Anthropometric indicators. Each child's height, weight, left arm circumference and tricep skinfold measurements were recorded. Height was taken using a vinyl tape, in conjunction with a back and head rest. The circumference measurement was acquired following the standard procedure of measuring halfway between the acromial process of the scapula and the point of the elbow. Weight was taken using a bathroom scale, adjusting the reading to zero prior to each weighing. Skinfold measures were taken three times and the average was recorded.

125
126 7. Hair. Hair specimens were also obtained from each preschool child examined. Care was taken to obtain specimens having the hair root intact. The procedure followed that outlined by Bradfield (1972), and varied only in the number extracted from each

running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and 123
shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. 797
Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses.
The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, 363
by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the 137
cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming 417
beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat 797
cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, 137
among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of
English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of
which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our 123
call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we
returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt.
Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school.
The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, 877
which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; 291
these were principally young women and girls—and like those we
had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of
coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petticoats
of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many [302]
had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the [751]
waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers;
and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they
use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it
adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing 877
their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags 415
carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They
were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a 872
square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, 797
directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a
preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from
the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the
missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the
scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full
chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they
formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed,
until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went
into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in
the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows,
the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A 872
large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground
outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a
hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through
the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writing
and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at 123
their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon
his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which 287
commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until [512]
about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we
entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found
two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They
were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet
long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor
by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each [412]
woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid
before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet
about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking
end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from [415]
time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl
that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child 302
with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her [412]
finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she [415]
went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not
to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call
this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the
chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the 523
model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were 439
very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and
finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made 531
designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several
lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut 251
lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of
4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had [843]
been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife,
which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat 855
watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of 123
the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance. 609

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the 123
principal man of the place, who had presided at the school 634
examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner
of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, [609]
desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way [352]
superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little
larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept;
the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which
hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay, [534]
[202]

anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were 501
crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number
of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, 505
which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and
other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across
the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach.
Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives alongside
the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King 643
George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which 123
being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the
Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine
Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in 643
receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that 644
our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down 574
to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, 123
who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us. [124]

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and
back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the [344]
King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his principal
chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside
the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it,
the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All
round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked
fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards 643
of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped 142
quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well 302
formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted
of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down 643
to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, 292
folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body,
coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left
bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand 643
a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of [293]
keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of [301]
distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of [292]
Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these
occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to commence. 123
We entered the apartment at the side, and took our 574
places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us
until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round, 643

---

* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (Piper mythesticum), [276]
and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the
ceremony.

276 now rose, one at a time, and went to him with small cups of green
574 banana leaf, which he filled with a dipper made by rolling up some
644 bark lightly into a rounded point. When the cup was filled, the
chief who received it turned round, and, advancing to the centre,
[415] fronted the king, holding it with both hands about breast high. A
man stationed behind the kava-maker then called out "Kava-kua-
heeka!" The kava having been lifted up, the king's spokes-
man proclaimed in the same tone to whom it should be given,
frequently using some sobriquet to point out the person intended
—as "atu ia kia Taaga!"—give it to the singer—give it to the
laugher—give it to the dancer, and so on, but all in the most
serious manner imaginable. It was then handed to the person
indicated, who drank it off and threw the cup away.

123 After the kava had been all served out, the chiefs that sat out-
644 side the house rose and went off without any further ceremony—
[574] the people carrying away their portions of pork, yams, &c.; and
this being all that was to be seen then, we made our bow and
took our departure, leaving the king to discuss state matters with
his ministers, who remained sitting with him in the shed as we had
found them. We afterwards called upon the queen, but were
informed that she was rather unwell after her passage from
Haabai; the young prince, George Vuna, however, was sent out to
644 receive us. He was a fine intelligent little fellow, about eight
[302] years of age, with large expressive brown eyes, his head being
shaved quite smooth, excepting a lock over each temple. Four or
five boys of his own age, his attendants and companions, came out
123 with him. Having indulged their curiosity by allowing them to take
a good stare at us, one of the party presented the prince with a
644 waistcoat which reached half way down to his ankles; another
gave him a large silk handkerchief of a blue-and-white bird's-eye
pattern, which was tied round his neck in a sailor's knot. We
then left him, highly delighted with his new dress, his half-dozen
naked attendants shouting and dancing round him.

123 From the palace I went with some others to see if we could col-
644 lect any curiosities among the houses, and while we were squatted
down in one of them, bartering for some tappa, the great town-
505 drum began to beat, and immediately afterwards a native came
running in to tell us that the remainder of the royal fleet from
Vavau and Haabai were coming in, bringing the Tamahá, a per-
son of the highest rank in Tonga. This news quickly brought us
to our legs, and we hurried off with the rest.

644 The day was brilliantly fine, and natives from all quarters were
collecting upon the hill, watching the approach of the royal fleet
505 of large double canoes, as it came up before the fresh sea-breeze,
the canoes spreading all over the bay, some far off on the distant
horizon, others nearer, threading their way between the little

643 king said he did not like to write before so many white men, who
126 were all so much wiser, and who knew how to write so much
609 better than himself, but that he would write it for me when alone.
212 After the Assembly broke up we went to the palace, where we
had called the day before, and found the queen prepared to
123 receive us. Her Majesty was seated on mats in the centre, or
644 chief place of the apartment; the king sitting on her right, and
three principal chiefs on her left hand, the rest of the chiefs all
sitting round in a great semicircle on the lawn before the palace,
644 as they had done at the kava party. The queen is about thirty,
[142] very stout, with a round good-natured face, large and full eyes,
with a very pleasing expression, small mouth and very white
[302] regular teeth. She wore her hair short, and dressed with a white
powder rubbed on wet, and then combed so as to stand up like
the front of a barrister's wig—a mode of hair-dressing by no
644 means unbecoming in the Tongaese women. She received us
609 without rising, smiling and holding out her hand as we were
presented. There were present on this occasion a number of
[123] Feejee chiefs, who had just arrived with one of their principal
000 men. They had their faces and necks blackened, and wore
enormous bushes of hair, dyed different colours and curiously
arranged, very much resembling in this respect the natives of the
[157] Louisiade. They were smaller and much darker in colour than
the Tongaese, with a wild restlessness of expression, quite different
from the placid manner of the Friendly Islanders. Upon seeing
123 me the king remembered my wish to have his autograph, and
126 taking my sketching tablet and pencil with him into the royal bed-
609 chamber—a small room divided by a mat-partition from the one
212 in which we sat—he wrote his name, and brought them out to me
again. Wishing to have that of the queen, whom I had heard
[643] could write, I ventured to ask for hers also. She appeared
[644] pleased with the idea, and smiling, at once got up from her mats,
and going into the bedroom, as the king had done, returned again
immediately, having placed her own signature, "Charlotte Lube,"
[643] or Charlotte the Dove, below that of her royal master. The
king signs "George Tubou," or George the King.

123 I had tried the day before, without success, to procure one of
126 the musical instruments mentioned by Cook, a kind of flute
played with the nose, called a "fung fung," and a native girl
[534] had undertaken to find or make one for me to be ready when we
came on shore to-day. Hearing that she had kept her promise, and
moreover was quite prepared to show me the mode of playing it,
I slipped away from the Royal party, and started off with one of
the missionaries to go up to his house, that I might see the performance,
but as we met her upon the road, bringing three or four
123 of the flutes with her, we turned and walked back. When, how-
644